The Experiences of Resilience of Rangatahi Māori who have been exposed to Risk

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Abstract

This research endeavours to understand the experiences of resilience to young Māori who have been exposed to risk. The setting for the data collection was one of the three Residential Special Schools in Aotearoa New Zealand. The bodies of literature that are concerned with resilience and Indigenous resilience are significant, however, the amount of research in regards to resilience and Māori is somewhat limited. This qualitative research presents a unique study in the field.

Four young Māori who were residents of the college were participants in semi structured interviews that were conversational in nature. In addition, seven of the staff who worked directly with them in the residence were also interviewed. The research was strengthened by interviewing both the students and their staff.

The findings of the study strongly show that western models of resilience can not be applied to Māori populations in their entirety. In order to understand experience of resilience, the data was analysed in terms of risk factors and protective factors that were evident for the young Māori at hand. Some of the themes are consistent with Western resilience, such as poverty, abuse, family disconnect, and the presence of a significant adult. There were however, significant themes that emerged were not congruent with Western resilience literature, namely exposure to gangs, perception of ethnicity, equity of access to health and wellbeing services, cultural connection, and extended family.

The findings also suggest that there are some positive initiatives currently taking place in the Residential Special School that could be strengthened, or perhaps recreated in mainstream schooling, especially the individual education planning, structured environment, and the exposure to cultural practices.

This piece of research presents some new research that has been gifted by a very precious group in the population of Aotearoa New Zealand. The narratives that they have gifted have implications not only for themselves, but for others in both Residential Special School education, and education in the mainstream sector.

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Acknowledgments

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Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi Engari, he toa takitini.

Success is not the work of one, but the work of many

Chapter One: Introduction

Setting the Scene

The adversities that certain children have to face put them at risk of failing to succeed in life (Rak & Patterson, 1996; Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). These adversities are often referred to as risk factors, and can include but are not limited to parenting style, family discord, learning ability, poverty, violence and abuse (Rak & Patterson, 1996; Bagshaw, 2007). Rak and Patterson (1996) claim that tamariki (children) who are exposed to such risk factors stand little chance of reaching their potential as adults, and are likely to become dysfunctional to the point that they are incapable of self-support, or of building rewarding relationships with others. Adversities faced in childhood not only increase these negative health aspects and social outcomes, but also contribute to the overall disparities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people (Young, Tong, Nixon, Fernando, Kalucy, Sherriff, Clapham, Craig, & Williamson, 2017).

Resilience has gained currency in recent times, arguably becoming an international axiom in regards to educational practices. In their 2013 report 'Wellbeing for Success', the New Zealand Education Review Office highlighted resilience as one of nine desired outcomes for student wellbeing, emphasising the link between wellbeing and learning. Fergus and Zimmerman (2005) define resilience as "the process of overcoming the negative effects of risk exposure, coping successfully with traumatic experiences, and avoiding the negative trajectories associated with risks." (p. 399). It is easily concluded that at ākonga (students) who are exposed to risk factors would benefit from being able to harness protective factors, and be more resilient.

Māori are the Indigenous people of Aotearoa (New Zealand). Māori ākonga, especially Māori boys, are over-represented in terms of challenging behaviours. A recent evaluation of the Residential Behaviour Schools showed that Māori ākonga make up approximately 60 percent of the roll across the schools (Ministry of Education, 2008). Considering that New Zealand's 2013 National Census data reported that 598,605 people belonged to the Māori ethnic group, and New Zealand's total population is estimated to be 4.7 million, these statistics are horrendous (Statistics New Zealand, 2018).

The aim of the New Zealand Government's Special Education Policy is to improve learning outcomes for all children and young people with special education needs at their local school, early childhood centre, or wherever they are educated. 'Ka Hikitia – Accelerating Success 2013–2017' (2013) indicates a strategic focus on intervention for children with specific barriers to learning. In addition, the organisational success priorities emphasise a focus on raising system performance for and with Māori. Considering these two educational policies, some ākonga are educated within a residential setting in order to best suit their needs. More often than not, the ākonga who are referred to such facilities have faced adversity in their lives, and are exposed to more risk factors than ākonga in mainstream education. Building the resilience of such ākonga is vital.

As a topic that continues to gain exposure, especially in education, the amount of research for the topic of resilience is vast and significant. The body of literature concerned with Indigenous resilience is growing. This may be due to the oppression of Indigenous people throughout history, and their need to harness protective factors ("The Secret of Indigenous Resilience," 2017). While there has been a small amount of research completed that has highlighted the concept of Māori resilience, there is a

need for more literature in this field, especially when considering the needs of Māori learners.

The research for this thesis aspired to explore this concept further, with a focus on the positive aspects of resilience, the protective factors. It was decided that a voice should be given to Māori ākonga who have had to regularly draw on their protective factors, due to the prominence of multiple, consistent, risk factors in their lives. Additionally, it was deemed relevant to also seek the voices of those who work directly with these ākonga. It was evident that completing this research with these groups of people, in the educational setting, was the most powerful method of gaining the sought after knowledge.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this thesis was to carry out research with participants, in order to examine what protective factors were harnessed by the rangatahi (youth) in the face of risk factors. In turn, the overall goal was to discover if resilience differs for Māori compared to Pākehā (non-Māori), and see if the outcomes are applicable to current Western models of resilience. In the case that there were differences, it would be suggested that a Māori model of resilience may need to be developed, especially considering that research has recently highlighted the strong link between resilience and educational outcomes.

Completing the research at one of Aotearoa's two residential special schools, provided enriched data. The schools specialise in working with ākonga who have educational, social and emotional needs, together with an underlying intellectual impairment.

Education is provided within a residential environment for ākonga who need significant curriculum adaptation, due to their difficulties (Ministry of Education, n.d.). I was not only interested to learn of some of the students' experiences of resilience, but also wanting to explore how the staff working with these ākonga felt the rangatahi expressed resilience.

Researcher Orientation

The motivation to explore what resilience meant to Māori was two-fold. Firstly, the studies of the researcher in Health Education highlighted the importance of resilience for rangatahi, and especially the impact it can have on education. Also, after a number of years working with young Māori who had been exposed to extensive risk factors and seeing their daily struggles, the researcher wondered if current Western models of resilience were applicable to them. The researcher felt obligated as an educator, and as Māori, to further explore the concept of 'Māori resilience'.

As a fair-skinned Māori female who had grown up in te ao Pākehā (the non-Māori world), the researcher is still very much on a journey of cultural identity. It was beneficial that prior relationships with the ākonga and staff were evident so that they were aware of the researcher's Ngāi Tahu heritage, and knowledge of te ao Māori (the Māori world). While the researcher was aware that while this was the case, there was also appreciation that the young men were raised in a much more 'Māori' world than the researcher, and that no amount of research into the world of another gives one full understanding.

Doing this research was enriching for the researcher as even though there was significant relationship with all of the participants (at least 18 months), there were things in the interviews that were surprising. The opportunity to step out of the role as their kaiako (teacher) allowed kōrero (conversation) with the ākonga on a deeper level. The stories gifted by those rangatahi have altered the teaching practise of the researcher for the better.

Structure of the Thesis

The next chapter reviews both national and international fields of literature concerned with models of resilience, Indigenous resilience, and Māori resilience. Chapter Three of this thesis explores in detail the methodology used to structure and carry out the research at hand. It explores the research questions, qualitative approach, and interviewing as the data collection methods. Participants and setting are discussed, as well as research ethics. Chapter Four presents the findings from the data analysis, exposing the open, honest stories of the rangatahi Māori, and their staff. The final chapter discusses and summarises the results, acknowledges limitations of the study, provides recommendations for future action, and offers concluding comments.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

Resilience is a topic that has gained significant momentum in recent times. There is an ever growing body of literature on the phenomenon. One of the fundamental elements of this study was to investigate the characteristics of the experiences of resilience as described by young Māori. In endeavouring to understand this, it is only fitting that a literature review be undertaken that explores the concept with a wide lens, before focusing on the intricacies of how it is applied to the groups of people at hand.

This literature review will explore some of the many definitions of resilience, and a number of popular models of resilience in the Western world. Literature on the topic of Indigenous resilience will be reviewed, as well as the small amount of literature dedicated to Māori resilience. This review will directly support one of the three overall aims of the research, to understand how current notions, theories and models of resilience fit within the concept of Māori resilience. The notion of 'wellbeing' will also be briefly mentioned.

Defining Resilience

Looking at the history of the concept of resilience, it is concluded that it is a social theory term that began in the 1970's when psychiatrists began to notice that a large number of children raised in high adversity conditions were coping well, and were more resilient than others (Garmezy, 1983, Edward, Welch & Chater, 2009; McGuire, 2010).

The large amount of literature on resilience, and its recent popularity, suggests that a precise definition may be elusive. There are common themes amongst definitions

though, for example, scholars highlight that resilience is concerned with ability to recover from less than desirable experiences. For example, "the ability to rebound from challenges in everyday life" (McGuire, 2010, p. 118); "to recover from and survive adverse conditions" (McGuire, 2010, p. 118); the process by which people overcome acute and ongoing challenges (Wexler, 2013); or, the capacity of a system to absorb trauma before altering its path, or the speed of the recovery of that system following shock (Lambert, Mark-Shadbolt, Ataria & Black, 2014).

The word 'resilience' is derived from 'resilere', a Latin word that is defined as *to jump back* (Edward et al., 2009). Considering this, Ginsburg (2006) compares resilience to buoyancy, rising back to the surface and regaining equilibrium after being underwater. Edward et al. (2009) had a similar definition for their study "springing back, rebounding, readily recovering and buoyant" (p. 588).

Resilience can also be viewed as the process of overcoming the adverse effects of being exposed to risk, managing trauma successfully, and avoiding potential negative outcomes associated with risk (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Young et al. (2017) also describe resilience as a process, declaring that it is; "a contextual and dynamic process that leads to positive adaptation in the presence of significant adversity" (p. 405). Furthermore, another process definition is offered by Tousignant and Sioui (2009), who suggest that resilience is a process of interactions between individuals and their environments. They propose that facing adversity enables the emergence of optimism and moral strength.

Dryden (2005) offers a layman's term of the concept by asserting that; "resilience is used to denote the ability of people to roll with the punches and cope with life events, both negative and positive" (p. 588). Edward et al. (2009) view the concept as a

phenomenon that is both logical and interactive. They describe what they term 'resilient behaviors', as being; "notions of having faith, hope, humour and being supported by functional social networks". These authors believe that the knowledge that one possesses has the ability to effectively adapt to adverse circumstances is the key to understanding resilience. A definition of childhood resilience is offered by Young et al. (2017), who see it as the ability to face challenges, and those challenges have minimal impact to normal development and social well-being. They also define it as the strength to opt for positive behaviours when presented with unexpected and adverse circumstances.

At times, resilience theory is questioned - even challenged - as many believe it is concerned with exposure to risk, however, the strength focus is at the forefront, with emphasis on healthy development in the face of risk exposure (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). The research of Hopkins, Zubrick and Taylor(2014) found that resilience was linked with high rates of self-esteem, prosocial friendships, positive self-regulation, low socioeconomic status and good physical health. Hansen and Antsanen (2016) challenge the notion that resilience is an innate quality, claiming that it is not nature alone that is responsible, but that it is a process that individuals are able to acquire.

After examining research, Worsley (2010) identified three waves of resilience research.

1. The first wave was concerned with individual protective factors, such as personal traits and characteristics.

2. The second wave recognised that individuals develop in accordance with their context, their interactions, and the resilience building process.

3. The last wave explored the possibility of creating resilience where it did not naturally occur.

Worsley (2010) stated that the fourth wave was likely to explore how current Western beliefs of individualism may be detrimental to efforts of promoting belonging.

Risk and Protective Factors

Scarpino (2007) offers the following definition of resilience by declaring that it is: "the ability to overcome adversity by having more protective factors than risk factors" (p. 33). As highlighted here, and in the definitions previously mentioned, almost all definitions of resilience make reference to one being at risk, and showing resistance to this. In turn, most of the literature reviewed in this study addressed resilience in terms of 'risk and protective factors'; "These and other studies of resilience have all identified protective factors in the histories of the participants that appear to have buffered the negative impact of the identified risks" (Rak & Patterson, 1996, p. 369). Fergus and Zimmerman (2005) claim that the presence of both risk and promotive factors are a requirement of resilience. Considering this, and in order to effectively address the purpose of the study at hand, a definition of resilience is provided; 'Resilience is a complex concept that can be more easily understood by exploring the risk and protective factors evident in one's life'.

Risk comes from the Greek work rhiza, that has a literal meaning of the hazard of sailing along rocky coastlines, an actuarial perspective, where risk is the probability or expected loss from misfortune (Lambert et al., 2014). Rak and Patterson (1996) identify that risk factors can be both environmental and biological, however, it is noted that these are not always independent notions. They believe that the concept of risk is frequently misunderstood; "while risk implies the potential for negative outcome, it also suggests that negative outcome may be avoided" (p. 368). Rutter (1979, as cited

in Rak & Patterson, 1996) found that the existence of a single risk factor in the lives of children did not have a significant long term impact, however, the presence of two or more increased the chance of negative outcomes.

Werner and Smith (1982, as cited in Edward et al., 2009) refer to the expansion of resilience to including 'self-righting capacities', or protective factors, that began in the 1980's. Fergus and Zimmerman (2005) term protective factors 'promotive factors' and claim they will either bring about a positive consequence or minimise or avoid a negative one. The describe promotive factors as assets or resources (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005); assets being innate positive factors that are inherent in an individual, such as competence, coping skills and self-efficacy. Resources are external positive factors that assist youth in overcoming risk e.g. parental support, adult mentoring, or organisations within communities. The term resources emphasizes the social environmental influences on health and development, ecological context, and rejects resilience as static and individual (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005).

Models of Resilience

Within the large body of resilience literature available today, there are many models of resilience proposed. For the purpose of this literature review, a small sample of what is available is summarised, in order to provide a brief snapshot. Fergus and Zimmerman (2005) identify three models of resilience that explain how promotive factors can intervene to alter the risk trajectory of negative outcome; compensatory, protective, and challenge. Risk and promotive factors are a commonality of these three models. The compensatory model is concerned with the instance of a protective factor counteracting a risk factor, with the protective factor directly influencing the outcome.

The promotive factor works in the opposite direction to the risk factor. In the second identified model, the protective factor model, the effects of risk are moderated due to assets and resources available to the individual. This model differs from the previous one it only reduces the effects instead of directly countering them. The challenge model is the last model, it presents the concept that an individual being exposed to either low levels or high levels of risk is more likely to be exposed to detrimental effects. Exposure to moderate amounts of risk, however, are often associated with positive outcomes. This model suggests that people who have exposure to the moderate levels experience enough of the risk to overcome it without it having a detrimental effect.

Worsley (2010) recognises and credits the research of Fergus and Zimmerman (2005) and the three models they propose, however, proposes a different model. The model is called the 'Resilience Doughnut', and the author believes it explains the combination of protective, challenge and compensatory effects of both protective and risk factors; "the Resilience Doughnut supports all three models proposed by Fergus and Zimmerman, combining compensatory, protective and challenging effects with the presence, absence or interaction of three or more strong external contexts in affecting outcomes" (p. 21).

The Resilience Doughnut is a model developed to account for the capacity of the individual as well as considering available resources and presence of adversity (Worsley, 2010). The model is ecological, depicting multiple pathways to resilience, in what the author notes is a simple yet practical tool (Worsley, 2015). Visually, the model is shaped like a doughnut, with an inner circle and an outer circle; "The inner circle represents an individual's internal characteristics that contribute to personal resilience... the outer circle represents the seven external environmental factors that influence the individual" (Worsley, 2015, p. 73). The model is pictured for reference.

Figure 1. The Resilience Doughnut Model. Worsley, L. (2015).

'The 7 Crucial Cs' is a model that contributed to the inspiration for this research. It does not fit comfortably within any of the three categories aforementioned. The author, Ginsburg (2006), believes there are seven integral, interrelated components of resilience, henceforth he developed the model 'the 7 Crucial Cs'. It was developed to provide a practical approach for parents and communities to prepare children to thrive. Each concept, according to Ginsburg, is summarised.

Competence - the ability to handle tough situations effectively. This 'C' is acquired through experience rather than an intrinsic feeling or hunch. Ginsburg claims people need certain skills in order to face difficult situations.

Confidence - this concept finds its roots in the previous 'C', it is the solid belief in one's own abilities. Confidence is acquired when competence is used in real situations. Experiencing self-confidence in competence, and, in turn, the feeling of security, promotes the confidence to face and survive challenges.

Connection - a good sense of security is more often found in people with good relationships within families, friends, school, and community. A solid sense of security engenders strong values and discourages the seeking out of destructive alternatives.

Character - a sense of right and wrong is fundamental to making sensible choices, being able to contribute to the world, and becoming stable individuals. Strong character indicates positive self-worth and confidence.

Contribution - this 'C' can lead to both internal and external reinforcement. When one realizes the impact that their own personal contribution can have, this sense of purpose can be highly motivating. This can not only encourage positive action, but also reflect positively on competence, character, and connection.

Coping - those of us who learn to cope effectively with stress are better prepared to deal with challenges. It is suggested that a vast range of positive, adaptive coping strategies are the best defence against unsafe behaviours.

Control - the realisation of personal control over the outcomes of decisions and actions can lead to the acknowledgement of one's ability to do what is necessary to bounce back from undesirable situations.

Scarpino (2007) posed a model of resilience based on the aforementioned risk and protective factors. It is presented as a table and summarised below.

Resilience (Protective) Factors	Risk (Vulnerability) Factors
Individual Differences Cognitive Ability Self-perception Temperament and Personality Self-regulation Skills Positive Life Outlook	Individual Differences Biological Risk Learning Difficulties Low Self-esteem Fussy Temperament Impulsiveness Negative Persistence
Community Resources and Opportunities Good schools Connections to Pro-Social Organisations Neighbourhood Quality Quality Social Services and Healthcare	Community Resources and Opportunities Low Academic Achievement School Issues Poor Peer Interactions
Relationships Quality Parenting Close Relationships with Competent Adults Connection with Prosocial Peers	Relationships Multiple Family Disadvantages Impaired Parenting Neglectful and Abusive Marital Conflict Family Instability and Violence High Exposure to Adverse Life Events

The models of resilience that have been summarised in this literature review exemplify valuable work in the field. They all have been developed from a Western context, and this needs to be considered, but ultimately there must be an Aboriginal definition of resilience (McGuire, 2010).

Indigenous Resilience

Resilience has become a significant concept to Aboriginal peoples as in the face of historical and continuous diversity, it inspires hope (Tousignant & Sioui, 2009). Andersson (2010) holds a similar view, stating that resilience research is advantageous as there is a focus on the strengths of Aboriginal peoples, not what is wrong with them. Some scholars believe that resilience was a fundamental element of education within Indigenous communities, before being eroded by colonisation (Hansen & Antsanen, 2016). Indigenous academics have started the process of adapting resilience in order to make it work for their people (Penehira, Green, Tuhiwai-Smith, & Aspin 2014). Literature and research has established a strong relationship between Indigenous culture and resilience; Wexler (2013) describes Indigenous culture as "cultural identity, enculturation, and participation in traditional activities" (p. 73).

When looking at resilience from an Indigenous perspective, definitions change. Indigenous resilience can be defined as not only surviving risk, but having aspirations of success (Hansen & Antsanen, 2016). Andersson (2010) writes that resilience is a positive lens in which Aboriginal communities can be viewed. Penehira et al. (2014) has a differing view, claiming that resilience is the resistance to colonisation, and is only one approach to wellbeing. Durie (2006) offers the following definition of

Indigenous resilience: "Superimposed on adversity and historic marginalization, Indigenous resilience is a reflection of an innate determination by Indigenous peoples to succeed. Resilience is the polar opposite of rigidity. It provides an alternate perspective to the more usual scenarios that emphasise Indigenous disadvantage and allows the Indigenous challenge to be reconfigured as a search for success rather than an explanation of failure" (p. 8).

Andersson (2010) explains that is that it is hard to find a universal Indigenous a view of resilience, as Aboriginal peoples have been faced with varying degrees of colonisation from the Western world and different experiences of displacement from land. Penehira et al. (2014) defines Indigenous resilience as "A multi-faceted notion; that a multitude of factors influence and determine both the need for resilience and the resilient strategies and behaviours we employ within our own communities...these include our colonial history, negotiating and meeting the challenges in the face of adversity, and the multiple relationships of which Indigenous people are a part" (p. 97).

Theories of resilience, and the models that have been created out of them, have mostly emerged from Western psychological discourse that fails to consider non-Indigenous perspectives (Penehira et al., 2014). By examining one of the definitions mentioned previously, "the ability to rebound from challenges in everyday life" (McGuire, 2010, p. 118), it can be argued that challenges in everyday life will differ for Indigenous peoples. While the models of resilience mentioned previously are commendable, Tousignant and Sioui (2009) warn of the danger of applying Western resilience literature to Indigenous people, as cultural context must be considered; "There are certainly universal, cross-cultural elements, but resilience should at the same time correspond to what these cultures recognise as familiar" (p. 46).

Despite of the challenges faced by Indigenous children, research has shown that they are often remarkably resilient during times of adversity (Young et al., 2017); "Aboriginal children were believed to face significant levels of adversity that could increase the chances of risky behaviours and derail positive outcomes. Because of this elevated threat, some participants viewed Aboriginal children's resilience as more of a necessity rather than a strength" (p. 407). Historical encounters have directly caused protective factors to develop in Indigenous peoples.

Resilience is recognised as a significant factor to health and wellbeing; "the means by which Indigenous people make use of individual and community strengths to protect themselves against adverse health outcomes" (Penehira et al., 2014, p. 99). Sodoke (2005) has a similar view; "human flourishing is critical to the development of Indigenous communities and allows Indigenous people and other vulnerable communities to realise their full potential and to succeed at all levels - human, social, economic, political and spiritual" (p. 253). Resilience is often emphasized as one of the important factors in healing the effects of colonization (Tousignant & Sioui, 2009).

Colonisation and Indigenous Resilience

Historical events shape current reality, making it vital to consider previous events in order to understand the experiences of Indigenous peoples (Shield, 2004). Tousignant and Sioui (2009) state that the challenge for many Aboriginal communities is facing the historical effects of colonization. Young et al. (2017) express "Australian Aboriginal children are exposed to a number of adversities that have been attributed to the downstream effects of European colonisation" (p. 405). Penehira et al. (2014) made

reference to the irony in the definition of resilience being about adaptation in order to survive or overcome circumstances of adversity, when colonisation provided such circumstances.

One Indigenous criticism of resilience is that it reinforces the idea that people should weather the continued effects of colonization and need to be better at bouncing back from them (Penehira et al., 2014). Education was, and arguably remains to be, a key colonial tool of forced assimilation of Indigenous peoples (McGuire, 2010). It is questioned if by searching for a model of resilience we are buying in the idea that 'this is the way it is' (Penehira et al., 2014); perhaps resilience is a vehicle utilised by the state to encourage adaptation to colonisation. This may be the case when looking at the effects of colonisation, however, there is a strong amount of literature attributed to the benefits of individuals and collectives harnessing resilience.

Resilience has been fundamental to surviving colonisation (Penehira et al., 2014); considering this, it was not only key to the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples in the past, but also vital for future times, and decolonisation. The participants in the study of Young et al. (2017) saw value in Aboriginal children being educated on the history of European Colonization. They believed understanding the ability of their ancestors to withstand such trauma could give children a sense of pride in their people that they could draw on in challenging times. Decolonisation has the power to improve the rates of Indigenous resilience (L. Smith, 2012; Hansen & Antsanen, 2016). Penehira et al. (2014) claim that we must draw on the context of the past and the effect it has had on understandings of the world, in order to inform the future. There is a whakataukī (proverb) that accentuates this '*Titiro whakamuri, ki anga whakamua*; look to the past in order to move forward.

Māori Resilience

While the the body of literature on Indigenous resilience is substantial and growing, the literature in regards to Māori resilience is somewhat limited. In recent times, however, the notion of Indigenous resilience has gained traction from government agencies, bodies funding research, and Māori and Indigenous researchers (Penehira et al., 2014). This has resulted in more literature emerging on the topic, however, there is still a gap in regards to models of resilience within a Māori context.

Lambert et al. (2014) studied the Māori response to the 2010 and 2011 Canterbury earthquakes. They found that Māori had unique responses, such as drawing on whānau (family), marae (Māori meeting grounds), iwi (tribes) and hapū (sub-tribes) to help both Māori and non-Māori, and the manifestation of whanaungatanga (relationship) and manaakitanga (hospitality, kindness). Their research found that "Māori are better at disasters than others. For some this was because of a personal and whānau history of poverty and need for self-sufficiency; for others, it was our acceptance of upheaval: Māori are used to last minute evacuation when it comes to tangi…" (p. 238). This is highlighted further in other post-earthquake research that indicates that the social connectedness, spiritual support and collective dynamics that are associated within Māori communities in Christchurch, may have protected them against the development of PTSS (Posttraumatic Stress Syndrome) (Carter, 2013).

A connection between ethnicity and resilience is evident here, and there is literature to support the notion that Māori have historically shown resilience during other periods of adversity; "The Indigenous Māori people of New Zealand have applied traditional knowledges, values and practices to address disaster-related risks and community

recovery during previous periods of adversity" (Kenney & Phibbs, 2014). Penehira et al. (2014) state that it must be considered that resilience is much a part of who Māori are as their traditional knowledge and practices; Māori have solid histories of overcoming challenges, and having to be resilient to adversities such as racism.

Bagshaw (2007) completed a survey of young people that regularly attended a community health centre, and found that family and cultural connections are very important to resilience. Less than half of the participants who identified as Māori indicated connection to family or satisfaction with knowledge of their culture.

Māori are often grouped into being one ethnic group, when in reality, they are made up of many different iwi; Māori but are very accepting of the huge diversity of 'Māori' (Penehira et al., 2014). This demonstrates another aspect that contributes to the fluid and flexible natures of Māori, and their resilience. More and more Māori now live away from traditional tūrangawaewae (place where one belongs). Regardless of this, Māori in other parts of Aotearoa and the world continue to draw on cultural values and traditions, just as those who remain close to their homeland. This is yet another example of how Māori have adapted to maintain wellbeing.

Summary

Recently, there has been focus nationally on the concept of 'wellbeing', which has been described by the Ministry of Education (2017) as encompassing; ".... the physical, mental, social and spiritual dimensions of a child's/young person's health" (p. 12). Given that the Ministry's description is reflective of Durie's (2006) *Te Whare Tapa Whā* wellbeing framework, then understanding the concept of resilience - within

a holistic understanding of the concept of 'wellbeing' - seems very timely. It is easily concluded that building resilience improves wellbeing outcomes.

This literature review has explored some of the definitions and interpretations of the concept of resilience. Many commonalities have emerged, however, there is a growing understanding about Indigenous interpretations and experiences that shape a definition that is unique to Indigenous people. Broadly speaking, resilience encompasses notions of the ability of one to harness protective factors in the presence of risk factors. From a Māori perspective, historical and collective dimensions have shaped this notion, and it is believed Western models of resilience, in their entirety, are not applicable. Resilience is a topic that is essential to wellbeing.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

Methodology is crucial as it shapes research questions, establishes methods, and frames analysis (Harding, 1987). This chapter will explain, in detail, the theoretical underpinnings of the methodology and the elements of the research design for this project. Firstly, the purpose of the research is explored in terms of key questions. The qualitative approach, epistemological perspective and research paradigms are then discussed, followed by the methodological approaches. Kaupapa Māori as research is explored, the participants and settings are detailed, as well as the data collection method. Research ethics and reflexivity are addressed, before the final aspect, data analysis methods, is explained.

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of the resilience of young Māori who have been exposed to risk. As such, the study was designed to investigate protective factors and risk factors, as reported by rangatahi Māori themselves, and experienced staff who have worked alongside them in a Residential Special School setting.

In alignment with the research purpose the following research questions were established:

i. What are the common risk factors young Māori exposed to?
ii. What are the common protective factors young Māori are utilising?

iii.   Are there differences between Western models of resilience and resilience as described by young Māori?

These broad, open-ended questions were posed in order to focus the study, while simultaneously remaining open to what would emerge from the data (Bogden & Biklen, 2007). It was hoped that the results of this study would add to the small body of research that is available on how resilience is embodied for Māori, and offer a number of Māori perspectives of resilience for those working in fields such as education and social services.

Qualitative Research

"Psychometricians try to measure *it*. Experimentalists try to control *it*. Interviewers ask questions about *it*. Observers watch *it*. Participant-observers do *it*. Statisticians count *it*. Evaluators value *it*. Qualitative inquirers find meaning in *it*." (Patton, 2015, p. 1).

Qualitative research is an inquiry field in its own right, crosscutting disciplines and subject matters (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In the definition provided by Bogden and Biklen (2007), qualitative research is defined by five characteristics. It is *naturalistic* by nature as research settings provide the data sources and the researcher is the instrument of collection. Qualitative research provides *descriptive data* that manifests through words or pictorially, as opposed to numerically. There is a *concern for process* evident, with less focus on outcomes. It is customary for qualitative researchers to have an *inductive* approach to data analysis. *Meaning* is the final feature of qualitative research outlined, a concept that is termed essential and is concerned with participant perspectives and capturing these accurately.

The *SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, 2000, 2005, 2011) is arguably a 'bible' of qualitative research, and has provided a progressive definition of qualitative research throughout the editions. Here is an exert of their latest definition:

…a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible…They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them". (p. 3).

The definition provided by Creswell (2013) is similar to the one mentioned above, however, importance is placed on research design and inquiry approaches. "Qualitative research begins with assumptions and the use of interpretive/theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems addressing the meanings individuals or groups ascribe to a social of human problem" (p. 13). It is easily concluded that qualitative research is an umbrella term that encompasses many research strategies that have common characteristics (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

Considering that the research purpose of this study entailed understanding experiences of resilience by a certain group of people, qualitative research is the obvious choice of methodology; 'capturing stories to understand people's perspectives and experiences' is one of the seven contributions to qualitative inquiry identified by Patton (2015). A qualitative methodology is further relevant when considering the

intentions and personal values of the researcher. The researcher believes that proximity to, and engagement with participants is the most appropriate way to generate 'knowledge'; Kirk and Miller (1986) claim that qualitative analysis is dependent on watching people "in their own territory and interacting with them in their own language on their own terms." (p. 9). The research is taking place in order to gain understanding of a concept that is of interest to the researcher, with a population group that the researcher is passionate about; as Patton (2015) highlights, "Qualitative inquiry cultivates the most useful of all human capacities: the capacity to learn." (p. 1).

Epistemological Positioning and Research Paradigm

Research begins with, and is always influenced by the philosophical assumptions of the researcher (Creswell, 2013; Creswell & Poth, 2018); philosophical assumptions are "deeply ingrained views about the types of problems that we need to study, what research questions to ask, or how we go about gathering data." (p. 15). Denzin and Lincoln (2011) claim that philosophical beliefs influence how the world is seen by a qualitative researcher, and in turn, how they act on it. Such beliefs are commonly referred to as epistemologies and ontologies (Crotty 1998, as cited in Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Huff (2009) stresses three reasons why it is important to consider philosophical assumptions that underpin qualitative research; namely direction of research goals and outcomes, scope of training and research experiences, and basis of evaluative criteria for research-related decisions. While theories are considered more important than philosophical assumptions, it is vital that such assumptions are considered,

unpacked, and made explicit in studies, as they often inform the choices of theories that guide qualitative research (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

The first difficulty is becoming aware of these assumptions, and the second is deciding to address them in qualitative studies. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) identify that philosophical principles of researchers combine beliefs about ontology - the nature of reality, the relationship between the inquirer and the known - epistemology, and methodology, which addresses how one knows the world or gains knowledge of it. The axiological assumption is an additional issue that is identified by some qualitative research theorists, a concept that examines the role of values in research (Denzin, 1989; Creswell & Poth, 2018). Philosophical beliefs are applied to research through interpretive frameworks, or inquiry paradigms, employed by researchers when a study is conducted (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Creswell (2013) asserts that the use of qualitative research methods begins with the use of interpretive frameworks. A paradigm is a worldview that influences how researchers make sense of the world, and effectively, their research (Patton, 2015); "A paradigm is a loose collection of logically related assumptions, concepts, or propositions that orient thinking and research" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 24). Denzin and Lincoln (2011) support the notion that all research is interpretive and guided by beliefs and feelings of researchers, and that different paradigms have different demands on researchers, such as questions asked and the interpretations employed by them.

A paradigm driven methodology commences with research questions being formed within a paradigm framework; on the other hand, when research questions are chosen first, and methodology is shaped around how to best answer them, one is employing

a "pragmatic approach" (Punch, 2011). The approach used in this study was pragmatic in nature, and consequently, there was a paradigm proliferation as more than one paradigmatic theory was applicable (Wright & Lather, 2006).

Social constructivism, or interpretivism, is a paradigm in which researchers seek understanding of the world, developing subjective meanings of experiences with emphasis on complexity of views rather than restricted meanings (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Researchers using social constructivism as a methodological technique are concerned with the production of reconstructed perceptions of the social world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This approach is rendered highly relevant to the research at hand, as the socially constructed concept of resilience is being explored to gain alternative perspectives. The second paradigm utilised is Kaupapa Māori Research; within this paradigm, researchers position themselves as having values and seeking transformative research that is undertaken by Māori, for Māori, and with Māori (Cram, 2006). The concept of Kaupapa Māori research will be explored in great detail later in this chapter.

Methodological Framework

Undertaking qualitative research does not mean that researchers are limited to a uniform approach to researching; there is significant diversity in the approaches available (Patton, 2015). Creswell and Poth (2018) claim that adopting a specific approach and describing its meaning and how it informed the research procedures is not only necessary, but fosters a more scholarly, inviting, and sophisticated study. The qualitative inquiry approach employed in this study is what has recently been coined as a proliferation of approaches (Patton, 2015), in that phenomenology was the core

method utilised, but narrative inquiry was also employed. Kaupapa Māori Research, as a method, underpinned the two former approaches.

Researchers in the phenomenological mode attempt to obtain a greater understanding of nature and meaning of events and interactions to ordinary people in particular situations (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Van Manen, 1990, Creswell & Poth, 2018); this is congruent with the research at hand which intended to identify protective factors utilised in the face of risk for rangatahi Māori. Phenomenological reflection is retrospective in nature, in that it is considerate of experience that is already lived through (Van Manen, 1990). Patton (2015) defines phenomenology as having a core question that explores "What is the meaning, structure, and essence of the lived experience of this phenomenon for this person or group of people?" (p. 98).

Resiliency can be defined as an interactive and logical phenomenon in the face of risk (Bernard, 1997; Edward, et al., 2009); this research project is unmistakably phenomenological in approach as it explored the experience of resilience for a group of rangatahi Māori.

The use of a narrative inquiry approach in this study is twofold. Firstly, the narrative can be a phenomenon that is being studied (Creswell & Poth, 2018), in this case resilience. Secondly, the method used is also narrative in nature, as the procedures involve analysing told stories (Chase, 2008). This study explores the phenomenon holistically; "the focus of narrative inquiry is not only valorising individuals' experience but is also an exploration of the social, cultural, familial, linguistic, and institutional narratives within which individuals experiences were, and are, constituted, shaped, expressed and enacted" (Clandinin, 2013, p. 18). As the phenomenon of resilience is

being explored in terms of the meaning and experiences of it for a certain group of people, the proliferation of approaches is an easily justified choice of positioning.

Kaupapa Māori Research

Indigenous methodology is typically a synthesis of existing approaches and Indigenous practices within an Indigenous context; methods become the means through which key issues of the research are addressed (L. Smith, 2012). Mead (1994) states that research procedures and processes need to be accurate so that everyone associated with the research is enriched, empowered and enlightened. Within Indigenous worlds, the word 'research' often has negative connotations attached to it, in Aotearoa it is often associated with European imperialism and colonialism, as it was initially only carried out by Pākehā on Indigenous peoples (Cram, 2001; L. Smith, 2012).

Considering the history of Indigenous research in Aotearoa New Zealand, and the nature of this study, the most significant lens to consider in the methodology of this project was Kaupapa Māori. Kaupapa Māori can be defined as "Māori ideology – a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society" (Moorfield, 2011, p. 65). Kaupapa Māori as research can be defined as research which is culturally safe; an emergent set of principles, beliefs and practices that underpin research with, and for, Māori (Irwin & Davies, 1994). There is a growing body of research on the topic, and with that, a number of suggested frameworks and considerations.

G. Smith (1990) identified four elements to Kaupapa Māori research:

1. is related to 'being Māori';

2. is connected to Māori philosophy;

3. takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture; and

4. is concerned with 'the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being.

L. Smith (2012) categorized Kaupapa Māori practices in a framework of seven concepts that researchers need to consider when working with tāngata whenua (the people of the land), namely:

1. Aroha ki te tāngata (a respect for people)

2. Kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face)

3. Titiro, whakarongo … kōrero (look, listen … speak)

4. Manaaki ki te tāngata (share and host people, be generous)

5. Kia tūpato (be cautious)

6. Kaua e takahia te mana o te tāngata (do not trample over the mana of people)

7. Kia māhaki (don't flaunt your knowledge)

The frustration and dissatisfaction with researchers obtaining and misinterpreting Māori knowledge triggered the capacity for 'by Māori, for Māori, with Māori' research (Cram, 2001). While identifying as Māori, the researcher is fair-skinned and does not have Māori heritage that is obvious for others in appearance. L. Smith (2012) highlights that researchers of Indigenous kaupapa can be marginalised when the notion of authenticity is questioned; such queries range from cultural status, to having 'blood quantum' or ancestry that is 'too white'. Irwin (1994) states that kaupapa Māori research is undertaken by a 'Māori researcher' not a researcher who 'happens to be Māori'; it is research practices that take precedence over 'how Māori' one is.

Ormond, Cram, and Carter (2006) discuss three 'by Māori, for Māori' research themes: relationships between researchers and research participants/communities, researchers knowing themselves, and the safety aspects inherent within tikanga (customs). By carrying out the research in the workplace of the researcher, with participants who were well known to the researcher, the first aspect was covered. While the researcher is still on a journey of cultural discovery, enough was known about whakapapa (genealogy) and identify and tikanga Māori to ensure the remaining principles were addressed. It was also important for the researcher to consider the 'Western' education undertaken, as L. Smith (2012) argues that a growing number of researchers define themselves as being Indigenous, while their training was in the Western academy. The researcher has been immersed in te ao Māori over the last six years; this was appropriate when considering philosophical assumptions.

While L. Smith (2012) advocates for the decolonization of methodologies, she also highlights that this does not require complete dismissal of all Western theory, research and knowledge; "it is about centring our concerns and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes" (p. 41). While the methodology of this research has been described in detail from a te ao Pākehā (Western worldview) perspective, the Kaupapa Māori element was the most crucial aspect. Kaupapa Māori underpinned the entire research process of this project. It influenced the purpose of the research, epistemology, ontology, paradigm, and methodological frameworks. Most importantly, it shaped the way data was collected, participant interactions, and the data analysis. Detail examples of how kaupapa Māori was congruent throughout the research are given.

'By Māori, for Māori' research and evaluation has the potential to generate spaces where marginalised voices are heard (Ormond, et al., 2006). Creswell and Poth

(2018), support the notion that qualitative research is employed when an issue, or variables that are not easily measured need to be explored; or when silenced voices need to be heard. Considering this, it was only fitting that 'kanohi kitea' (face-to-face) was utilised, and the data collection method of interviewing was employed.

It was not outlined that a koha (gift) would be given prior to interviews being completed as the researcher did not want it to influence participants' decision to participate in the research. It was, however, culturally appropriate to acknowledge the stories gifted with koha. Each student was individually taken for a meal of their choice with myself and the student advocate, and a collective kai (meal, food) was gifted to all participants.

Participants and Setting

One of the three Residential Special Schools in Aotearoa was chosen as the setting for this project. Residential Special Schools specialise in working with ākonga who present with behavioural, social and/or emotional needs, together with an intellectual disability; such ākonga require significant curriculum adaption due to slower rates of learning (Ministry of Education, 2017). The residential nature of the school means that ākonga are able to reside at the school during term time; they return to their whānau/caregivers for the holidays.

As identified in the literature review, people are more likely to employ protective factors, and in turn, be resilient, in the face of risk factors. Ākonga enrolled in an education facility such as the one mentioned above, are almost guaranteed to have faced high numbers of risk factors, and, in turn, engaged more protective factors.

Therefore, it is easily argued that they have experienced the phenomenon of resilience regularly, and are an ideal group of people to carry out this research with.

All Māori ākonga and staff who worked directly and consistently with them were invited to participate in the study, in an attempt to gather a sample that was reflective of the 'whole population' (Patton, 2015). There were four male student participants, in the age range 14-17, each young tama (male) affiliated to a different iwi. Four male staff were interviewed, and five female staff. They had all worked at the college for an average of 9 years, the shortest term of employment being three years, and the longest being 26 years. All staff participants worked full-time in the residence. Full-time staff were defined as those who have at least 25 hours of contact time with the ākonga each week.

Methods

"At the very heart of what it means to be human is the ability of people to symbolize their experience through language" (Seidman, 2013, p. 8). Qualitative research practises transform the world by turning it into a series of representations, such as interviews, in order to make sense of phenomena (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). Bogden and Biklen (2007) claim that qualitative research studies that illustrate the most vital aspects of the methodology are those that employ interviewing practices. Seidman (2013) recognises interviewing as a basic mode of inquiry, at the centre of which is an interest in the stories of others because they are of worth; this view is consistent with Kaupapa Māori philosophy.

Bertaux (1981) urges educational researchers to recognise that when given opportunities to speak freely, people know a lot about what is going on. This notion is supported by others, who also view interviewing as a way to gain insight into

educational and social issues through appreciating the experiences of those whose lived experiences reflect such issues (Seidman, 2013; Patton, 2015). The purpose of interviewing in qualitative research is not to test a hypothesis, but rather to gain an understanding of the lived experiences of individuals or groups, and the meaning they derive from their experiences (Seidman 2013).

Qualitative research is a study of things in their natural settings, in an attempt to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Starks and Trinidad (2007), believe that the interviewing strategy that should be used by research grounded in phenomenology is one where the participant describes their experience and the interviewer probes for detail and clarity. Patton (2015) also encourages the use of such interviews when collecting data for phenomenological research; he believes that it is necessary for the researcher to undertake in-depth interviews with people who have directly experienced the phenomenon of interest, contending that "the only way for us to really know what another person experiences is to experience the phenomenon as directly as possible for ourselves" (p. 116).

Narrative inquiry interviewing is concerned with an interest in experiences as narrated by those who live them (Chase, 2008). The instances where qualitative research methodologies are employed in educational settings are often referred to as being naturalistic in nature, as the researcher frequents places where the phenomena of interest occur (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

The adequacy of a research method depends on the of the purpose of the research in question (Seidman, 2013). When considering the intentions of this study, the use of interviews was arguably the only choice of method. The interviews in this study were

all undertaken at the site of interest, as indicated as the preference of all participants. One of Creswell's (2009) eight common characteristics of qualitative research is 'Natural Setting', the concept of 'face-to-face interaction over time' is highlighted. This lends itself nicely to the previously mentioned te ao Māori value 'kanohi kitea' which translates to mean face to face interaction. The implication of this value is that meeting in person is the correct form of contact, as it avoids misunderstandings and demonstrates respect to a person as one is taking time and energy to travel and meet with another (Keegan, 2000).

Patton's (2015) 'deductive theoretical' sampling strategy was used, as participants were selected based on predicted manifestations of resilience, in order to examine the construct. While the intention was to interview everyone within the group of interest, this was not possible due to the temperamental natures of some of the student participants, whose stay at the college was cut short before interviewing could occur. While it is considered culturally appropriate to engage whānau, this proved difficult due to the geographical location and the volatile nature of some of the ākonga' parents. While their consent was sought, residential whānau with 'in locus parentis' rights were also consulted.

An in-depth interview approach was utilised for the adult participants, as it draws on unstructured interviewing techniques that allow interviewees to tell their own stories (Lichtman, 2013). While the interviews with the student participants employed a similar approach, they were slightly more structured, to accommodate intellectual difficulties. Interviews were piloted with two staff members who were not a part of the group of interest.

The established relationships of the researcher with the participants in the kaiako role at the educational facility was advantageous, as it is unreasonable to expect to get effective data where genuine relationship is absent. L. Smith (2012) argues that researchers cannot assume to know all that is possible to know of Indigenous peoples, based on brief encounters. On a number of occasions when the researcher had planned to interview adult participants, the interviews were not completed as the time was instead spent talking with former colleagues, and acting as a sounding board for them and any raruraru (conflict). While the lack of progress initially concerning, the researcher quickly realised that it was all a part of the relationship building and evidence gathering process. Cavanagh (2015) encourages kaupapa Māori researchers to 'not let the mahi (work) come before the relationship'.

Seidman (2012) indicates that researchers and participants of differing ethnic backgrounds can face difficulties in forming meaningful interviewing relationships. Due to my physical appearance of the researcher, which indicates only European ancestry, it was helpful that the participants knew the researcher and was familiar with whakapapa. As the majority of the participants were Māori, and the research kaupapa is orientated within te ao Māori, it may have been harder to collect data if the participants did not know tribal affiliations of the researcher.

The interview schedules were adapted from Peter and Thurlow's (2003) 'A Questionnaire for Resilient Youth'. These are the core questions that were asked of the student participants:

- What are some of the struggles and difficulties that you have faced in your life?
- Describe how you overcame those struggles and difficulties
- What things that helped you in the past are still important in keeping you strong?

- What advice do you have for young people who are experiencing struggles and difficulties in their life?

- What advice do you have for adults to help young people be strong and resilient?

These are the core questions that were asked of the adult participants:

- What are some of the struggles and difficulties that the Māori students you work with have faced in their life?

- How do you think the difficulties experienced by the Māori students differ to those experienced by the Pākehā students?

- What are some of the things that the students themselves have done/are doing to overcome those struggles and difficulties?

- What do you believe guides and strengthens these young Māori?

- What do you think will be important in the future for these young Māori to continue to overcome their current struggles, and any new struggles that may arise?
  What cultural values do you believe these young Māori are/have been exposed to that help them overcome their difficulties?

- What differences do you think there are in how Māori students cope with difficulties in comparison to Pākehā students?

- What advice do you have for adults to help young people to be strong and resilient?

Research Ethics

Ethical issues that may surface during a study, and how to address them, need to be considered during the planning and design stages of a qualitative study (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Lichtman (2013) gives a general definition to help us understand research ethics; "Ethical behaviour represents a set of moral principles, rules, or standards governing a person or profession…do good and avoid evil" (p. 51). Creswell and Poth (2018) categorise ethical issues by six different phases of the research process: prior to conducting the study, beginning to conduct the study, collecting data, analysing data, reporting data, and publishing the study. While it is effective to speak to ethical issues in this manner, it is important to consider the inherent role of kaupapa Māori as research.

Prior to conducting the study, approval was sought from the University of Canterbury Ethics Committee, as well at the local iwi consultation and engagement group. The research site, a local school, was selected as it did not have any vested interest in the outcome of the study. Approval for the research was gained from the Board of Trustees at the kura (school). A presentation was given about the intentions and methods of the research, and the board members were then given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

Kaupapa Māori research encompasses research ethics, the researcher's ethics and Māori ethics (Hudson & Russell, 2009). Potential cultural impacts on ethical procedures were considered throughout the process, with cultural nuances, tikanga and kawa (protocol/ceremonies) taken into account at every juncture. Cram (2001) identifies seven Māori values that need to be considered when entering into a respectful research process. These are: whanaungatanga (building and maintaining

relationships), manaakitanga (hosting and generosity), aroha (respect and love), mahaki (humility), mana (power, dignity and respect), titiro, whakarongo…kōrero (look, listen, then maybe speak), and kia tūpoto (be culturally safe, and reflective about insider/outsider status). These seven values were considered inherently throughout my research. Below, ethical issues that arose and were addressed in this research are listed in accordance with Creswell and Poth's (2018) phase structure mentioned earlier.

Whānau permission was obtained at the beginning of the study, which proved a lengthy process due to the geographical separation of some of the participants' whānau. This process exemplified how norms and charters of an Indigenous culture were respected, as family consent was not always from the parents, but on one occasion was grandparents, and another an auntie who had custody of the tamaiti (child). It is common within te ao Māori for tamariki to be raised by someone outside of one's nuclear family (Kennedy & Cram, 2011).

Once whānau support was received, the researcher was able to gain consent from the rangatahi Māori, which was an intricate process. One of the main concerns was that prior to this research project being undertaken, the researcher was a kaiako in the school and taught all four of the student participants. The student advocate at the school approached each ākonga first, in consideration of the nature of their intellectual deficits, and in order to value their autonomy and avoid ākonga feeling pressured to participate. If the student expressed interest, a kōrero was then initiated with them to gain written permission. It was not appropriate for someone else to collect the data as whanaungatanga was integral (Cram, 2001) and literature suggests that it is necessary researchers to collect data themselves through methods such as interviewing (Hatch, 2002; Creswell, 2009).

When collecting data, each participant chose the setting for the interview to take place. All adult participants chose to have the interview in the office of the residential whare (house), while the ākonga either opted to have it in their classroom, or the lounge of the whare when it was not in use. When interviewing the four ākonga, there was a student advocate present at all times. Prior to the interview, the ākonga were given the opportunity to pick which advocate they would like to accompany them. This practise avoided potential power imbalances. All data was, and continues to be, stored in a secure location.

When analysing the data, the privacy of the participants was prioritised at all times; one of the major ethical principles identified by research is privacy and anonymity; "any individual in a research study has a reasonable expectation that privacy will be guaranteed…any group or organisation participating in a research study has a reasonable expectation that its identity will not be revealed" (Lichtman, 2013, p. 52). As the school is one of only three of its kind in all of New Zealand, removing identifying information from my study was paramount; pseudonyms were used for all participants. The organisation was informed that while the identity of the institution could be figured out, the chances of this occurring is very slim.

When reporting the data, publishing information that was very personal and may have cause harm or distress to participants, such as details of sexual assaults or neglect was avoided. All data is reported clearly with appropriate language, and all sources cited accurately. On publication, reports will be shared with participants and key stakeholders, with reports tailored to the diverse audiences.

Reflexivity

Qualitative research is personal - what brings a researcher to an inquiry matters; a researchers' background, experience, interpersonal competence, and cross-cultural sensitivity are some of the things that create a tūāpapa (foundation) for the credibility of findings. Reflexivity is a term that refers to researchers employing self-consciousness and awareness in order to reflect on themselves as a research tool (Goodrick, 2014). We must consider what Patton (2002) calls the 'human factor'; "Because qualitative inquiry depends, at every stage, on the skills, training, insights, and capabilities of the inquirer…the human factor is the greatest strength and the fundamental weakness of qualitative inquiry and analysis" (p. 432). It is important for qualitative researchers to acknowledge that subjectivity is inherently in research, and understand that while many associate it with bias, neutrality should not be valued (Breuer, Mruck, & Roth, 2002; Cavanagh, 2015). "Researchers are not neutral; they have their own values, biases and world views, and these are lenses through which they look at and interpret the already-interpreted world of participants" (Preissle, 2006, p. 691).

Reflexivity is further defined by Creswell and Poth (2018) as researchers communicating their background and how it informs their interpretation of data, as well as outlining what they have to gain from a study. Wolcott (2009) concurs "They (readers) want to know what prompts our interest in the topics we investigate, to whom we are reporting, and what we personally have to gain from our study" (p. 36). Patton (2015) reinforces this notion, highlighting that a vital part of qualitative methodology is a researcher reflecting on how data collection and interpretation can be influenced by who a researcher is, what is going on in their life, what they place value on, how they view the world, and how they have chosen to study what interests them.

The practical application of reflexivity in this study was reflected in the research in the following ways:

- informal conversations; many informal conversations were had with different parties before participants formally consented to the researcher to ensure they were aware of what was involved and had plenty of opportunities to ask questions

- transparency, all participants were aware of the previous role of the researcher in the school, and that the project was a part of a Masters Degree

- mentorship by kaumātua, Irwin (1994); the kaiwhakahaere of the school took on this role as well as my supervisors who are prominent figures in Māori education

- the study had no hypothesis that needed proven; the interviewing techniques reflected this with their conversational nature and open ended questions

- member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985); each participant provided with a copy of their interview transcript, in order to compare the descriptive results with their perceived experiences, the themes I derived from the data were then shared with all adult participants and feedback invited to ensure the validity of interpretations

- memo recording; journaling occurred in order for the researcher to ensure that the reflexive role of the self was regularly and actively identified and re-evaluated, questions such as 'how has the way I collected the data influenced how the participants responded?' were considered

Data Analysis

The interviews were transcribed by a professional and included space fillers like 'you know', 'umm' and other non-verbal communication such as emphasis and laughter. The inclusion of such space fillers allowed the interview to be analysed holistically. Once the scripts of the interviews were returned by the transcriber, the researcher listened to the interview again, with the script in hand, to ensure accuracy. This also assisted the researcher to become more familiar with the data.

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data produced by the interviews. The transcripts were read thoroughly numerous times, and then coded to identify common themes. After 3 of the transcripts had been read in their entirety, the main themes had already emerged. These general themes were then broken into categories, and sub categories where appropriate. The transcripts were then read again to pick up any narratives that could be added to the themes once they were established.

Chapter Four: Findings

Introduction

The findings chapter will be structured using the themes derived by the analysis. It will outline and describe these; namely four risk factors and five protective factors. As highlighted in the literature review, resilience can be defined by the risk factors and protective factors that are present for an individual. This is the rationale for presenting the data in this matter. The interviews were rich in nature and common themes were easily revealed. These results have directly addressed the research questions. Considering the oral knowledge transmission traditions of Māori people, narrative quotes have been used. The four risk factor themes identified were: home environment; perceived status; equity of access to health and wellbeing services; and, lack of cultural connection. Connection to culture, residential education setting, notions of self, significant adult, and extended whānau were the five protective factor themes that emerged. There are sub categories within each theme.

It is important to note that some staff members have had over 20 years' experience working in the residential setting where the research took place. This means that when they use language like "these kids" they are referring to the ākonga who they have worked with over the years, not just the one's that were in residence at the time of interviewing. Where the more sensitive subjects are addressed, i.e.: abuse, the ākonga have not been named, even with a pseudonym. This is to protect the ākonga involved and the personal nature of the stories that they have gifted.

Risk Factor 1: Home Environment

When kaimahi (staff) were asked what challenges the rangatahi Māori have to face, the data showed that the majority of them related to the home environment. The following five subcategories were identified within the theme of 'home environment': drugs and alcohol, poverty, abuse, gangs, and family disconnect.

<u>Drugs and Alcohol</u>

All of the staff members mentioned drinking and drugs as common risk factors for rangatahi Māori.

Heni said "There are problems in the home caused by alcohol, drugs...some parents are smoking cannabis daily. The kids can get alcohol fetal syndrome or others disorders from drugs being taken while hapū (pregnant). So yeah even before they are born the drugs and booze have an affect".

Hariata reflected "There is a lack of structure and support within the homes. Unfortunately, the culture today in a lot of Māori whānau is the drugs, yeah the drugs and the alcohol".

Ihaka said "Drinking is an issue and drugs like marijuana, but even P (methamphetamine) which is getting worse alcohol abuse. It often means the kids are exposed to bad stuff but also can't see their whānau".

One of the ākonga reported this "My real mother is on drugs, that's why I don't see her. It makes me sad that she does it".

<u>Poverty</u>

Poverty was the second subcategory that the data analysis revealed.

Ihaka believed there was a connection between alcohol and drugs, and poverty. "Poverty is a huge issue, but I think there is a link between that and the drugs and alcohol we talked about before. Those things are expensive. So once you've spent money on that there isn't much left for food or clothes".

Ruth also mentioned poverty, "There is a lack of money in these whānau, a lot of these kids go to school hungry and lacking the necessities of life". She believed that this poverty leads to "little to no health interventions, that means infections".

Rihipeta said "These kids parents are struggling day today to put food on the table, buy clothing, and keep the roof over their heads".

Lilly recounted "Poverty is huge for the Māori kids. The Pākehā ākonga tend to come here really set up with their clothes, and their basic needs met, more so than the Māori ākonga do". She thought this contributed to resilience, "You know if a Pākehā student had their power turned off and no food in the house that's the end of the world for them. If that happened to the Māori student would just go oh well because they are used to that stuff". She followed with "I'm not saying that's a good thing though. It is sad really".

Hariata commented "Our kids are judged because they come from a lower income, it's hard for our kids to see the other kids, Pākehā with the flash shoes and kai".

Abuse

Data analysis showed that all staff saw abuse as a risk factor for the rangatahi Māori. "Physical abuse", "beatings", "hidings", "child abuse", were all mentioned, as well as "intergenerational abuse", "mental", "emotional", and "sexual".

Physical abuse was a risk factor that was mentioned by all of the staff.

Rihipeta reported "A lot of the challenges in families is in the home. Some of these kids are so used to getting beatings that they come here and are surprised when we don't hurt them". She also said "the kids are used to seeing mum and dad fight… the abuse is sometimes a cycle, it doesn't stop".

Lilly reinforced Hariata's views "These kids are so used to violence they come here and think they will get a hiding. I think abuse factors don't seem to faze our Māori ākonga as much as they have fazed Pākehā kids because they are more used to it". She also mentioned the abuse cycle "The parents have haven't been empowered, it's a cycle that keeps going round and round to the point the kids actually come from bad homes. If it is a cycle, then whānau need help to strengthen them to break cycles".

Ihaka said similar "Child abuse is a big thing. When they are naughty here they start backing away because they think you are going to smack them". He also said "The parents get annoyed when they drink and hit the children. The kids think mum's going to be pissed off when she's drinking cause she always gets grouchy when she's drunk and slaps us around'. They go hide and lock the door".

Sam believed "These rangatahi have a warped perception of life they've experienced and seen abuse and a lot of things that a human being should never experience".

One of the ākonga, commented "It's hard with the endless yelling. Sometimes in my house there is a lot of raruraru, and I always watch my own family grumpy at each other... I mean it's not really what a family is supposed to do".

Another student recalled "My nana threatened to break my neck. And my mums old boyfriend he abused me he was like kicking me and putting me in the bloody oven and everything".

Another of the ākonga mentioned a step parent who was physical towards his mum, "I remember my step dad used to push my mum and stuff. He was really mean to her but I was just small and I couldn't do anything. But I remember".

A fourth student also reported physical abuse from his parents and "being beaten up" by his brother in school and out of school.

Sexual abuse was raised by three staff members, and one student.

Sam felt "the worst thing they have to deal with is the sexual abuse. I really think it's the thing that affects them most in life".

Both Lilly and Ihaka spoke of the secrecy of sexual abuse. Lilly explained "It doesn't pop out until someone says years and years later and the damage has already been done".

Ihaka said "if somebody had sexual abuse they're not really open to tell people because they're afraid somebody else might hear about it all or their friends might find out about it and get a bad reputation. Not that it's their fault but they don't talk about sexual abuse because it is linked to shame".

One of the ākonga made reference to his own sexual abuse. It was a brief comment and it was not explored by the interviewee due to the sensitive nature.

Rihipeta spoke of how she believed that being exposed to abusive behaviours leads to violent behaviour in the child. "They react to what they've seen in their own home life you know the violence it just comes out of nowhere. They can go from one to ten really quickly and again nobody's ever taught them anything, they haven't been taught how to control their emotions and their feelings.

Ihaka also spoke of how the rangatahi "have tantrums", "break things", and "hurt others" because "that's what they have seen so that's what they know.

Gangs

Being exposed to gangs or being gang affiliated was the fourth subcategory exposed by data analysis.

Hariata said the ākonga "get affiliated to gangs because their parents or their father or their cousin or their uncle or someone they know is in a gang". She said the consequence of that is "that's all they know they think gangs are cool".

Ihaka reinforced this "kids who grew up in gangs repeat the cycle, it's all they know". He said that the kids look for that family environment "sometimes it's the most whānau feel these kids will get. It's the tribe mentality with a negative spin".

Rihipeta believed there were problems for children with "gangs coming in and out of the home". She gave an example, "I remember this one boy his name was Murray and he was telling me about the troubles that we're going on at home. His next door neighbour, the gang dude down the road, he came in with a knife and chased his mother around the table. He saw all of that and she's got younger kids at home too".

Heni commented that the gang exposure "definitely impacts on the kids" she said that the "gang lifestyle is usually generational".

Family Disconnect

The effect of being separated from one or both birth parents, or their whole whānau, was raised by many of the ākonga and adults and therefore emerged strongly in the data analysis.

Ruth said "A lot of our Māori parents separate and kids often don't live with both of their birth parents, sometimes neither of them".

Rihipeta confirmed this "there are often Māori kids who can't live with their parents. There's a situation like that within my own whānau right now". She continued, "These kids are coming from broken homes. The challenges mainly come from the home environment".

Heni stated "The biggest problem is the whānau dynamics you know what's happening in their whānau lives. Some of them are quite good which is great but others more often than not the whānau's broken down and one or both parents aren't around".

Ihaka commented that "the make-up of the whānau can be a factor. A lot of our Māori kids don't have their whānau around them, there are a lot that are disconnected from their whānau".

Two of the ākonga mentioned a step parent; Matt said "I never really see my dad and I hate my step dad".

One of the ākonga, Hohepa, was living with his grandparents at the time of the interview. He said "I haven't seen mum much since I've been growing up, I would like to though".

This family disconnect often mean Oranga Tamariki—Ministry for Children is involved. Oranga Tamariki is the government department in Aotearoa New Zealand that is responsible for the well-being of children, specifically those at risk of harm. In the data below it is referred to as its successor agency Child, Youth and Family (CYFS).

Lilly highlighted that many of the rangatahi were involved with the agency, but disagreed with some of the processes; "Māori ākonga especially still need that

connection with their family. By removing them and allowing no contact actually does more damage than it does healing".

Sam said "heaps of these kids are in CYFS care. I know it needs to happen but sometimes they get taken away from their ūkaipō (source of sustenance, real home) and that's terrible for their wairua (spirit)".

Hohepa had strong views about this topic "I don't like CYFS. I really don't like them because they told me nana and grandad don't want me anymore". He reported "The carer I had last would hit us and would lock me and my sister in our rooms".

Tama also reflected on similar poor experiences "I didn't like that carer, the CYFS lady, because she used to bang my head and other stuff". Similar to Hohepa's experience he said "You couldn't run away because they used to lock the doors and everything".

Zion indicated being in alternative care but did not confirm this. He said "In the past the hardest part has been not being able to go home when I wanted to".

Rick Factor 2: Perceived Status

The theme of perceived status had two sub categories; perception of ethnicity and perception of disability. The data strongly showed evidence that these two factors are risk factors for rangatahi Māori.

Perception of Ethnicity

The data strongly indicated that one of the struggles faced by rangatahi Māori is their ethnicity.

Heni said "Racism is one of the hardest things for these kids. Other people when they identify that they're Māori the bullying starts and goes on and on. Maybe they get called the black guy or something like that and that means they have to stand up for who they are. They shouldn't have to do that".

Rihipeta made a powerful statement "Sometimes just because of the colour of their skin you're automatically a bad boy". She reflected on her own life, growing up as a young Māori, "When I look back on my own life, we were judged all the time for being Māori. We were always blamed when things would go missing, only us Māori kids would have our bags searched and it would always come back that none of us took it. Every time we would go into the malls we were followed around that also has happened here with some of our kids, we used to take them to the markets and they used to have the security guards follow them around because of the way they looked and how they dressed".

Ihaka said "Pakeke (adults) in our schools are often are not able to communicate in an effective way because they don't understand Māori kids. They assume they don't come from a good home, didn't have breakfast, can't read well". He described this for himself "I grew up exactly like that, whakamā (embarrassed) about being Māori because they tell you that Māori are dumb Māori are stupid all those things. You feel like you are not bright enough to be a part of anything".

Hariata also reflected on growing up "I was more fair-skinned than some of my family, and my last name was Hunter so funnily enough that made a big difference. Some of my friends who had Māori last names you know they had the racism to begin with that people couldn't even pronounce their names. They got beaten up, beaten up for being Māori. I was more accepted because my name was a Pākehā name".

Sam commented" Well Māori, we don't talk we keep everything quiet and that. We're too shy to open up just because we've been shut down so many times we just keep our mouth closed and just work hard". He continued "In the schools these rangatahi have come from they were getting bullied every day just for being different, for being Māori, you know the cultural stuff".

Matt said "From when I was really little I remember it wasn't good to be Māori at school. Now I hang out with all the bad one's because I'm a bad one. You know shoplifting and organised fighting".

Ihaka spoke of being misunderstood at school, "It's hard for Māori to learn English sometimes, like I can understand Māori and read and write in it, but English is difficult for me. The Māori is not valued".

Sam also acknowledged something similar "Māori aren't accepted because of their culture. We get treated on a lower scale, like I did when I was young. I couldn't read or write in English so they thought I couldn't do it at all, even though I could do it in Māori. They told me I would go nowhere in life".

Ruth said "Lots of the kids get shame about not doing well with English language. If the whole country had to learn te reo (Māori language) then maybe the shame around it would lessen". She spoke of what she thinks is happening in schools "The Māori race have for years been thought of as the second class, so they don't get as much support as the Pākehā kids".

Lilly stated "I think that in general Māori people have lower self confidence than Pākehā. They don't have the ability or the drive to succeed that maybe Pākehā people do because of what society tells them. Maybe it's changing now but you know the

think that they will work at the fisheries and the Pākehā people go and get lawyer jobs. I think it's a generational history thing dating all the way back to the Treaty of Waitangi".

Hariata had a very similar view "Māori people in general believe that they aren't good enough to achieve, whereas the Pākehā actually have people backing them and saying this is what you can do, you can do everything. With Māori there are limits like no don't do that, try this. You probably can do that but not that as well. It's oppression and the lack of support to be able to achieve anything".

Perception of Disability

Ihaka said "it's hard enough being Māori for these kids; then they are landed with other problems like their disabilities". He continued "These rangatahi, they have tantrums, break things, throw things, lash out. It's because of their disabilities but also I think a lot of them have been embarrassed and shamed out about that, so they muck up at school. They get kicked out of class or kura so they don't have to be in the the place where they are put down all the time".

Heni listed some of the diagnoses the rangatahi Māori she has worked with have been given "autism, Asperger's, down syndrome, ADD (Attention Deficit Disorder), ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder)". She spoke of the lack of understanding in society, and gave an example. "People don't get it they just judge these kids. Like Joseph, people think he is being weird or stupid, they don't know that there is a reason that he does all that stuff; his diagnosis is Tourette's".

Rihipeta reflected "It's really sad for kids with disabilities because they struggle with reading and writing which affects their self esteem because people judge them when they don't reach normal milestones, even though it's not their fault".

Lilly said "These kids are intellectually disabled which is just another huge hurdle for them. It often means an element of isolation, they don't fit in with a lot of the people their age".

Rihipeta spoke of different disabilities that she had learnt about while working at the residential college "I've worked with kids with global developmental delay, dyspraxia, autism spectrum disorder". She also highlighted mental health issues "...anxiety and sometimes depression, they can be crippling too. With these kids those mental illnesses probably come from the trauma, they're created by the trauma".

Ihaka also made reference to this "I think the disabilities are often linked to the whānau environment, like fetal alcohol syndrome or ADHD".

One student highlighted his diagnosis as a challenge, "My disability is a difficulty, my ASD (Autism Spectrum Disorder), and also the problems I have with my depression and mood". Later in the interview when asked what he likes about playing video games he said "Well it's something I'm good at so I like it because I'm not much good at anything else. I've been told that before you know".

Heni reinforced this idea "It's hard because they believe that they haven't got the skills to do most things. I've heard heaps of the kids say 'I'm stupid', 'I can't do that'. If you ask them what they are good at they'll go nothing. That's their perception of themselves because that's what people have always told them".

Another student said "I can't control my behaviour and sometimes hit others but people don't understand it's because of my alcohol syndrome. People know I'm different and they bully me a lot about it".

Hariata also spoke about this "There is bullying within their peer groups. You see that all the time. So once they have been bullied and then they tend to bully others".

"My behaviour is one of the things I find hard, and I hurt other people when I'm elevated but people think I choose to be like that", said a third rangatahi Māori.

Ruth raised an interesting point "Being diagnosed is good on one hand because it means the child might get funding or the support they need. On the other hand, it can be bad though cause once a kid is labelled people think something is wrong or something bad has happened. They can get grouped in with someone else and then they are all the same. So the risk of it is being misunderstood". She also said "The kids don't want to ask for help because then people might pry into why they can't do things. So they experience failure at school. They've got no self esteem; I was the same as a young person I lacked value in myself for the same reasons".

Sam, also spoke of his own struggles "I have dyslexia and that meant academic challenges but personally I wanted to be better for myself to prove people wrong the people that put me down. There were heaps of people that were mean to me about it".

Rick Factor 3: Equity of Access to Health and Wellbeing Services

Pakeke were asked how they think Māori feel about accessing health and wellbeing services. The data shows that there are often negative feelings about this.

Ihaka explained "Because we are thought of as second class, Māori struggle with accessing services and getting support for them and their kids. I think there is a bit of racism within that and just a lack of understanding that people should be equal". He

spoke of historical influence "Māori need more support because of the issues they face. We don't trust Pākehā systems which comes back to colonisation and having land and things taken, that affects people it affects mana. My grandparents were always talking about that and there is still an undercurrent about land loss today even with my kids".

Hariata said "Māori can't always access some things maybe the availability is there but there is no petrol in the car or maybe nobody is telling them they can have it; the advertising is not there. So it's knowing that it's there but if you don't know it makes it difficult and some Māori people don't like to ask for these things".

Ruth said "Access to help is a challenge, Māori don't understand how to get support so they don't have any. I think it's easier for Pākehā people, they feel like they can access health services easier because it comes from their world". She commented further "Also Māori have this idea of and keeping it within the whānau, deal with it by yourself, so people can't receive the right support with that mindset".

Heni made similar points, "Māori are shy they're whakamā you know they're too embarrassed to ask for help. Also it is a trust thing though. Māori find it hard to work with Pākehā because they think they want something. Like they took our land now what to do they want kind of thing".

Lilly reflected "In regards to the mental health system it is very much based on a Pākehā model of well-being. They don't support or acknowledge mirimiri or the connectivity to family and whakawhanaungatanga (establishing relationships)". She also said "I think there is segregation and lack of trust. Most of the social workers you meet are Pākehā, you have to try to find the right social worker for the right family".

Rihipeta said "Māori don't access services. It's too hard". When asked why not she responded "You don't get understood only judged. It's about having the right person in those agencies so there is trust. You know you can go through so many of them and then you may be lucky to find one that works so it's a bit of trial and error really".

Rick Factor 4: Lack of Cultural Connection

The data showed that the staff were concerned that these rangatahi Māori did not have enough connection to their culture.

Rihipeta said "Our kids aren't as connected as they should be. They don't know about Māori stuff. If they knew about their culture they would cope better".

Hariata said "Sometimes the challenges different for our Māori kids compared to Pākehā because there is disconnect. They don't know who they are so it's harder to stand strong when you don't know that". She spoke about urbanisation "They're so urbanised that they forget who they are and so they've lost that culture. Then they adapt to society's culture which is you know their upbringing, with their gang affiliations and the abuse and all that sort of thing".

Ihaka also commented on location contributing to loss of culture, "Where they live is another issue. Kids who live in the country are really Māorified compared to the one's you have in the city. One's in the city try to identify as being Māori but it's hard and they don't fit into the system at all. Now most Māori are born into urbanised society and urbanisation usually means they forget about their past, and tīpuna, so they are disengaged from that path".

Ruth had similar views "A whole group of Māori in the 60's and 70's left home and went right away from their culture. They didn't name any of their children Māori names, they didn't bury their placentas, they married white girls and never did anything Māori they just walked right away. And then they all started drinking and taking drugs and getting into trouble. Why did they do it? Because it wasn't acceptable in society to be Māori or do Māori things. It's getting better but it's still really hard for Māori today especially the rangatahi".

Heni spoke of her own experiences of urbanisation "I was brought up in Christchurch all my life. We didn't know what Māori was even though we are Māori. I couldn't quite figure out why I was slightly different, why other kids didn't look like me".

Sam also commented on this topic "When you are a Māori who grows up in the city you are more adaptable to the school systems, but if you come from less urbanised areas it's harder".

Tama gave an example of this "I only realised I was allowed to be Māori when my teacher said because my nana always tells me I'm not Māori and that I shouldn't say karakia (prayer)".

Protective Factor 1: Connection to Culture

While 'lack of cultural connection' is identified above as a risk factor, it was also deemed necessary to have 'connection to culture' as a protective factor. This was due to the clear difference of cultural connection as a risk factor, and cultural connection as a protective factor in the data analysis. The subcategories listed below are identity, knowledge of whakapapa, exposure to tikanga, te reo Māori, and spirituality.

Identity

Identity was a significant subcategory that emerged under the theme 'connection to culture'. The data showed that both kaimahi and rangatahi saw this as a protective factor.

Ruth believed "the thing that provides the most strength to them is getting back into their own culture, there is so much value it that. They get a purpose, a sense of belonging and sense of pride in their identity...everyone wants to know who they are".

Identity was also raised by Lilly, "by understanding the history of one's people then that increases identity and any time someone has a better sense of identity you can assume they will be more resilient…. lots of things help with cultural identity and for young Māori it's even things like having Māori rugby players as role models".

Rihipeta reflected "Māori need to be connected to their culture. It's important because it's who they are, it provides a sense of belonging. If they don't have that I think bad times seem worse to people".

Ihaka spoke of his own Māori identity journey "I was a rough young fella but it was better once I understood that being Māori is not a disease or an illness or something to be shameful about. I realised that we have a right to be here in this land, it's our land. Once I knew that stuff I was much more comfortable in my own skin and things got better for me".

Heni also recalled her own identity struggles "young Māori need to learn about culture and develop a sense of belonging, and a sense of self. I didn't have that. I was brought up in Christchurch all my life - we didn't know what Māori was let alone that we were Māori. I couldn't figure out why I was different like my skin and stuff. Then at 13 I went

to my grandmothers tangi back home, I'd never been to a funeral let alone a marae. It was really cool to feel like all these people are your people, you belong to them, it set me on the path of I am Māori and what does it mean and where do I come from. Before that I felt like I was lost and who knows what could have happened. Now I know I am Māori and I don't have to tell anyone why I know it in my heart. If all of these kids had that identity connection, they would be much better off'.

Hariata said "I have seen it in these kids and my own kids and my brother, there are improvements once they have cultural connections. They start to have a bit more mana, they are quite proud, especially once they know things about their culture you see the difference'.

One of the ākonga, Hohepa, said "I like when I feel connection which happens only when there is Māori culture and stuff...I like when I go to places like school or the park and there are other Māori kids, it makes me feel more calm cause there are people like me".

Zion also said "I like my culture and the more that I know about it then I feel proud of myself and things are just better".

Heni made reference to a past student who she felt had a good sense of identity "Hereme was the most grounded because he knew where he was from, he was brought up on a marae, had a lot to do with te ao Māori. Our other ākonga have often only heard about it but he was living it and was able to identify strongly". She also said "for these kids to bounce back from hard stuff they need to be able to identify who they are, and relate to being Māori and have a grounding in their culture. That's what helps to bring them back".

<u>Knowledge of Whakapapa</u>

Specific reference to the connection between whakapapa and cultural connection was made by many of the staff, and multiple students.

Sam said "It is so important for the rangatahi Māori to be able to identify to whakapapa, to people, and learn about their identity and who they are. I know if I knew my whakapapa before I was an adult it would have helped me heaps".

Rihipeta acknowledged something similar, "to help them overcome their difficulties they need to learn about their identity and who they are in terms of their whakapapa. See once they have the idea that I'm Tūhoe or I'm Ngāi Tahu then they feed back into their iwi, they have a sense of belonging to somewhere".

Lilly agreed, "connectivity to whakapapa, and where one comes from is so important for these kids. I think connectivity back to whakapapa is the most important thing in terms of what to hold on to when things are tough".

Heni said "The concept of pepeha (tribal affiliations) helps kids identify and connect. It identifies positives and not negatives of their exposure to their culture".

This aspect was also appreciated by Ihaka who said "for these guys it's about identity, knowing where they've come from, and their whakapapa. Whakapapa doesn't have to go all the way back to people like Te Rauparaha (Māori chief from 1700's), sometimes its just back to your great grandparents that's still starting somewhere. Even that allows connection with other Māori - they might recognise the name of the marae or know your uncle. It all leads to connection".

Sam highlighted another advantage of knowing whakapapa "Once you know where you come from, like your pepeha, you have a whole other support base that you can access, like you can connect with your iwi for support".

Hariata vocalised a comparable opinion "You need connection not only to your immediate whānau but to marae, hapū, and iwi. If you have that then you know someone always has your back". She said "Once they learn whakapapa there is change within their whole āhua (appearance, character), they relax and are not so tense anymore cause they know who they are".

When identifying what helps Tama said "It's good that I know my iwi...knowing my iwi helps with my behaviour". Matt said similar, "I like that I know where I come from, and being able to tell other people about that". Zion appreciated the value of whakapapa too, "What helps me? I know my iwi and I've learnt my pepeha I've learnt where my family has come. That helps me".

Exposure to Tikanga Māori and Kaupapa Māori

The data analysis exhibited the subcategory 'exposure to tikanga and kaupapa Māori'. The terms tikanga and kaupapa were both used as there is a clear difference in definition and both were evident in the data. "Kaupapa Māori relates to the knowledge, attitudes and values that are inherently Māori as held and followed by hapū and iwi. Kaupapa Māori is the foundation upon which tikanga and kawa is established and incorporates all of the teachings which have been passed down through generations of hapū and iwi. Examples include whakapapa, pūrākau, mōteatea, and karakia...Tikanga Māori are the practices to be followed in conducting the affairs of a

group or an individual. They are the rules or customs handed down within a hapū or iwi." (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2018).

Ihaka made reference to using pūrākau (ancient legends) as a tool for connecting the rangatahi to te ao Māori. "We should be teaching kids about myths and legends to help them. Like Māui (Polynesian demigod), tell them don't give up, be like Māui and you can do anything.

Rihipeta said "adults need to tell children about their tīpuna (ansectors) and what great role models they were and how they used the things they had in front of them. Stories from their own people, and famous people from their iwi will connect these kids with Māoridom".

Lilly said something similar "whānau need to encourage their kids and their mokopuna (grandchildren) to remember their tīpuna and their people that have passed on. Connection comes from that." She continued "each tribe has own history, own whakataukī, own waiata (songs). It's about connectivity and always reminding kids they are a part of something bigger and greater than themselves".

Rihipeta spoke about the value of Māori practices "karakia helps them identify who they are as Māori, it gives them discipline as well and keeps them grounded and connected to their tīpuna. Waiata is good too, when you go somewhere and you know the waiata people are singing you feel really good and a part of the group".

Matt validated this thought "It helps me knowing I can do Māori things like I know how to cook boil up, I like when I am around other Māori and we do waiata and stuff, I felt more welcomed when I know that stuff 'cos I am Māori and I should know kaupapa".

Hohepa recounted some of his cultural experiences "I've done taiaha and mau rākau (Māori weaponry) which is good. I always want to learn more things like that".

When asked what he does when things are tough Tama said "It sounds silly but I made a hīnaki (eel trap) and stuff like that helps me with my anger. Also kapa haka (Māori performing arts)".

Zion said "When I'm sad I think about how I can do karakia and waiata, and not everyone can. Not everyone is lucky to be Māori like me".

Ruth said "If young Māori align themselves with Māori values they will feel more connected".

Ihaka named some of these values "Manaakitanga, aroha, whakawhanaungatanga, it's values like those that can help Māori who are struggling".

The value of the education system in increasing identity was highlighted two of the kaimahi. Ihaka said "I think across New Zealand we are getting more Māori teachers in our schools which is helping our Māori learners...it's good for them because if you have someone that can teach you about your culture there will be a better connection and more achievement".

Sam reflected "I wish the history I learned at school was more about Māori history. I wish I knew more about the history of my culture. I want to know for me but also so I can tell the kids I work with cause it would be good for them to know too".

Te Reo Māori

Te Reo Māori was another subcategory that surfaced from the data. The benefits of having knowledge of the Māori language were mentioned by the staff and the students.

Rihipeta spoke of the value of Māori language "Having the reo is huge. It helps with identity more than most things could. There is shame associated with not knowing the language. I know it can make you feel more Māori when you have it which means better identity".

Ihaka agreed "There is often shame for Māori people who can't speak it, especially when they look Māori. Learning te reo takes away that shame and means they feel more connected".

Reference to language was also made by Hariata "The value of the reo is that once they know their reo they become more connected to who they are, where they come from, and they have increased sense of belonging".

One of the ākonga, Tama, said "I like knowing Māori words and how to do some sentences it makes me feel amazing. I like learning more of the language at school because then people know I am Māori like when we had Christmas dinner I did karakia for the kai. My nana always tells me I'm not very Māori so it was good for her to see me be Māori when I said the prayer for the kai".

Matt expressed the difference in feeling since starting to learn Māori language "I like learning the reo cause it is my language. I never used to know it and now I know some. Now when I go to the marae I feel better because I understand some things. I now help my brother and cousins to understand and that's good".

Hohepa said "I feel more like me because of the te reo Māori that I learn when I am at school. Zion commented similarly "I like using the Māori phrases. It's nice to know them because it's my culture and I like being able to teach others Māori".

<u>Spirituality</u>

There was only one kaimahi and one rangatahi Māori who spoke about spirituality in te ao Māori, however, the subcategory is worth noting.

Rihipeta highlighted "Being Māori is very spiritual, it's everything. Only Māori know how Māori live. It's totally different to the Pākehā world. Everything is living and we need to look after those things, we are the kaitiaki (guardians) of this land, of the world, of the people. We have to look after everything". When speaking about how to help young Māori she said "We have to connect them back to the whenua (land)".

Hohepa expresses "I feel really connected at the river. It doesn't matter if it's not the river that's in my pepeha. I just am calm when I go there".

Protective Factor 2: Residential Education Setting

As previously mentioned, the short term stay at the college is for ākonga who have educational, social and emotional needs, together with an underlying intellectual impairment. The data analysis proved helpful in giving kids security and building resilience.

<u>Professional Practice</u>

All of the kaimahi mentioned how they work together as a staff to get the best outcomes for every rangatahi Māori. Ihaka said "every Thursday we have a hui to discuss how the whare is running, what we need for the kids, if they have any issues they are brought up so that we can all talk about it… we get any help they need like

they might need psychologist help so we make recommendations and referrals for that".

Sam also mentioned referring the rangatahi to agencies, as did Lilly who also spoke about staff keeping in regular contact with whānau. Ruth identified that they strive to "create a culturally responsive and inclusive environment for the ākonga… we want to match the teaching strategies and learning resources to the student, like their interests".

When asked how the staff help the ākonga become more resilient, Heni responded "relationship building is key, the kids need positive reinforcement from us that this is a stable relationship".

Ihaka concurred, "Mostly I see this job as about having fun with the kids, making them feel happy about themselves while making a good relationship".

Rihipeta appreciated that "lots of praise is needed when they do well, you have to be recognising the good stuff to bring their mana up and to build that relationship". She also said "building relationship with them is hard, yes we have fun with the kids, but it is also about respecting them as individuals and I apologize if I need to".

Sam also saw the value of building relationship "it's good to have one on one chats with them or in a little group". This idea was supported by Lilly who said "relationships mean spending time with them and giving them opportunities to talk about how they are feeling".

Hohepa commented that he really liked becoming close with the staff, and Tama said "I like the staff because its nice to have adults that I can have a good time with and who help".

Whānau Environment

Rihipeta likened her role to a parental one "well relationship building is important, our role is like the parents role, a nurturing role". This was not the only comment about the environment mirroring a family, many of the staff and ākonga mentioned the way the residence was like a whānau.

Ihaka commented that the most important concept that each student can grasp is to "learn they have another whānau here that's what I like that they understand that the whānau is here for them just as much as the family at home"

This was also valued by Rihipeta "it is mostly just about being a whānau, and teaching them how to be a part of a stable whānau in a positive manner. That's a new thing for most of these guys".

Sam reflected that he thought it felt most like a whānau at meal times. Zion confirmed this "it definitely feels like a whānau even though you might not know it, like sitting at the table all together and getting ready for breakfast that is what a whānau would do". Matt said "it's kind of like my family but more strict but also more homely".

Individual Education Planning

The data analysis indicated the benefit of the staff recognising ākonga as individuals. Ihaka explained how "this kura communicates with it's rangatahi, we work to their individual needs.

Heni agreed "we focus on working with their differences not like mainstream putting a round peg in a square hole". She then explained the Individual Education Plan (IEP)

that each student has which involves staff setting goals with the student and then working with them to help them achieve them, "we have goals for life skills and social skills as well as academic goals on the day school side of things".

As the kura specifically caters for ākonga with challenging behaviour, teaching ākonga behaviour management strategies is a daily occurrence. Rihipeta articulated that sometimes this is planned but it also can be incidental, "often it is a part of their IEP goal to behave in a certain way but sometimes we use random moments and situations to discuss behaviour". She mentioned "we actually have to teach them how to behave. We study behaviour management strategies".

Sam described this also "we have a nice calm approach when teaching them to overcome difficulties and help them with behaviour". When asked about how the staff help the ākonga, Ihaka also mentioned that the staff "work through issues with the ākonga, they sometimes need a lot of help to understand emotions like a toddler would".

Zion confirmed this practise in saying "the staff here help me, they don't get angry they just slowly talk to you...staff don't get angry at us they talk to us and try and understand".

Hohepa also commented on his experience "when like my teacher or the staff I will stay and talk to them about things instead of running away if they are angry at me. I like it when the teacher's are firm but calm and help with my behaviour and understand me instead of just being mad".

<u>Structured Environment</u>

One of the rangatahi Māori specifically mentioned enjoying the structure of the environment "going to this school has really helped me with some of my difficulties, because like the routines of the place have really been helpful. I didn't have those at home". The daily routines include hygiene practises and daily chores being explicitly taught.

Ihaka, Lilly, and Sam mentioned this, as well as Rihipeta who said "we have to demonstrate how to do chores and help the kids with their personal hygiene practices. They have mostly never been taught things like how to vacuum or wash your hair properly".

Ruth stated that the school provides medical interventions where necessary "we give every kid a proper check up with the nurse when they first come...we end up treating conditions that they may have had for years like kutu (head lice) or hay fever".

Lilly supported this by detailing the process of giving out medication in a way that "teaches them safe medication practises so they can do it for themselves after they leave us". Matt also mentioned the routines, he said "there is a time for homework which is good for me".

Three of the staff mentioned the extracurricular activities that were organised for the ākonga and integrated into daily and weekly activities. Rihipeta said "we organise activities outside of the school like sports teams or social groups… we also encourage physical activities like swimming or rugby or riding on the bike onsite. Sam highlighted the benefits of physical activity in the regulation of emotions.

Cultural Practices

The data showed that the most beneficial part of the residential setting was the exposure to cultural practices. All of the staff and ākonga spoke about different cultural aspects they valued that stemmed from the residence being kaupapa Māori orientated.

Ihaka explained "we run this villa based on kaupapa, the staff work within kaupapa Māori because we want the ākonga to succeed in both Māori and Pākehā worlds". Ruth confirmed said "we are welcoming and giving and we embrace people straight away just like in the Māori culture.

Hohepa admitted "I had not learnt much about my Māori culture before I went to this school and I liked being in the Māori villa".

Heni commented "we teach them about their culture, they don't know it the power of the whānau and the tribe type situation". She continued "Once they learn waiata and karakia their behaviours change from when they initially came to us".

Matt said that he liked the residence because "there was always Māori food and the Māori villa has Māori staff in it, and other Māori kids like me. I liked the connection at the Māori villa it has helped me like the culture and stuff like doing taiaha".

There were many practical examples of the kaupapa of the whare. Sam reflected "we do a lot of things around Māoridom, we have rules like no shoes in the whare or no hats on at the table, or clothes on the table. It's good for the kids to have a rangatira (chiefly, enriched) model".

Rihipeta said "we encourage cultural outings, so on Waitangi day we visit marae and teaching them the tikanga of a marae. We have noho marae (overnight stays), and we teach them how to get kai moana (seafood)".

When asked about the aspects of te ao Māori reflected in the villa Ruth listed "karakia, waiata, taiaha, making hīnaki, fishing and eeling". She said "It's funny when you are doing anything Māori with them that is when they will open up. If you are one on one, its when you hear about what's going on for them and what it has been like for them growing up".

When asked how being in the kaupapa Māori residence has helped Tama he said "Well like I made a hīnaki and doing stuff like that helps me with my anger. Taiaha does too cause its like a calm time and I have to focus".

Ihaka used the example of how some issues were dealt with in a kaupapa Māori way, "we use karakia time or have a hui whakatika (meeting to restore). That's like a time where we can talk or bring up issues and discuss things as a whānau, if there is raruraru we deal with it as a whānau...like the boys apologise to the whole whānau just like it would happen in te ao Māori. The focus is on how everyone can fix things instead of bringing shame on an individual".

Hariata expanded on this point "we deal with any issues as a family, a whānau, we ask how has it impacted everybody and where has there been a takahi mana (disregard of spiritual power) so we can make it right".

Heni spoke of the tuakana teina (older sibling, younger sibling) programme "we run tuakana teina so that instead of bullying they can learn to uplift mana, they can then

take that back to their own whānau… it's based on manaakitanga, you really have that village effect here so everyone has a role and is looked after".

Zion reflected "when I first got here I was a teina and that was good cause I got to learn things from the older boys. Now I'm a tuakana and I like being a tuakana because I can teach the new kids like how to behave and our karakia and that".

Another aspect of the daily routine was what the staff referred to as 'karakia time'. Rihipeta described it as "something we do every night and every morning. We imitate a paepae (orators' bench) of the marae and the boys take on different roles".

Ruth expanded on this "One of the boys leads us in karakia tīmatanga (beginning prayer), we have a waiata, and some ākonga say their pepeha. Sometimes we talk about a whakataukī but it is also a time for us to discuss the day or reflect on it and we talk about any issues. We always do ending karakia".

Heni also appreciated the value of this time "It's a time for us to be together, it shows the power of the whānau and the tribe type context".

When asked about how the residential setting assist the ākonga, Hariata spoke at length about the karakia routine, "in the karakia system they're learning a bit of discipline as well as connecting them with their culture. Once they are exposed to that system there are improvements in their behaviour, they start to have a bit more mana within them as they learn karakia and waiata their behaviours change, you really see the difference".

Matt mentioned the karakia process "I like sitting on the paepae and being able to reflect on the day. We all learn a bit more about like where we're from and I knowing about other people's pepeha too".

This was similar to a comment made by Zion "the karakia times are beneficial because we have that time to be respectful of out kaupapa. I really love that silent reflective time".

Heni spoke about the benefits of the whare for a non-Māori student "Mitch is Pākehā but he is from up North so he is in our whare. He has learned pepeha, waiata, karakia, he always wants to sit on the paepae".

Ihaka said that "most of these kids don't know their pepeha so we work with them and identify their maunga (mountain), their awa (river), so they know they've got a connection which is important".

Sam confirmed this "we look up their pepeha and where they come from...we have to contact the whānau to do this usually someone knows like nan or an aunty...once they know this they are better in themselves".

Hariata also identified the benefits of helping ākonga with their pepeha "we research pepeha like we ring up the whānau, and the rangatahi are quite proud especially once they know their pepeha. Not only proud but they can make connections through it and they become grounded when they know where they are from, it almost makes them a better person cause they know where they belong".

One of the ākonga, Hohepa, said "Now I know that I am from Tūwharetoa which makes me feel good and I can tell other people my iwi"; and Tama commented "now I know my tribe and knowing my iwi and mountain helps with my behaviour".

The staff in the whare spoke about how they incorporate te reo Māori into conversations and routines. Rihipeta highlighted "none of our kids are fluent but we know the value of the reo. We renamed all of the chores in Māori without the English

translation so the kids picked it up, and they did. We kōrero Māori (speak Māori language) during mealtimes and times like that…it is so good to have that positive kind of kōrero going on at the table".

Lilly reflected that "the staff here know how to communicate better with Māori kids when they have some Māori language. Even if the kids don't have any reo they connect better".

Ruth also recounted how they incorporate Māori language "we have little sayings like 'haere mai ki te kai' (come and eat), and whakataukī, and tags on objects around the place. It's good for the boys to learn them but also us staff".

Matt said "I like having the bilingual unit at the day school. When I first got here I was in a different class and they didn't understand me because you know typical Pākehā's". He also acknowledged the kaupapa Māori residence "It's hard being away from my family but in the whare I felt welcomed cause I am Māori and I know some of the the kaupapa. I like the whare and the bilingual unit because I get to be me and speak reo and I get to be with the other Māori students.

Tama also mentioned "I like learning the Māori stuff at this school like how to say things in Māori cause I am Māori so it made me more Māori".

Protective Factor 3: Notions of Self

The theme notions of self incorporated elements that increased self esteem as well as internal motivation. This theme included the subcategories words of affirmation, intrinsic factors, and personal strategies.

<u>Words of Affirmation</u>

Many staff members mentioned that the use of positive, encouraging words can strengthen the rangatahi Māori.

Hariata said "I think that kaimahi need to say positive things to young Māori, like be strong, kia kaha, keep going, there's always light at the end of the tunnel. They need to hear those things especially those who are struggling".

Rihipeta mirrored this view "One of the things we can do to make them stronger is positive words. Believe in yourself nothing is easy and you have to work for it, keep trying, that sort of thing".

Lilly commented "Kids, especially these one's, they need to know that they can do it, they can do whatever they want to no matter what. We have to tell them these things even if someone else tells them they can only work at a grocery store we need to tell them no, they can go to uni and get a law degree if that's what they want to do. Tell them that they can do anything and build their self confidence. That's what helps them, I've seen it".

Sam commented "We need to improve their self-esteem so they know they can do anything, they need to have people helping build their self confidence and self belief in any dreams they have. Also help strengthen them to break cycles".

When asked what advice he would have for a young person who was struggling, Zion said "I'd tell them you have to believe in yourself because if you don't believe in yourself you're kind of not healing".

Ihaka reflected, "these kids get stronger when you find their strengths and praise them a lot. That praise works wonders".

Heni also spoke about finding strengths "If we can focus on their strengths and highlight them to the kids they feel better about themselves. The better that self esteem is the more strong they will be".

Similar views were held by Ruth, "I think they need to believe in themselves, I think if nothing else if we can get them to believe and look at their own strengths then I think that's a winner". She spoke about how they often need to be helped to discover their strengths "I think we have to provide opportunities for them to find out what they are good at. Like leadership that helps them a lot when they have natural talent at that they thrive on their inner skills of leadership and responsibility".

Matt supported this and reported "when I teach te reo Māori to the teachers and the other ākonga it's a good feeling of having knowledge that someone else does not and then giving that to them".

Intrinsic Factors

Sam said "They need to believe in themselves. But also they need to want the help, as long as they want the help they will get it".

Ruth identified "when we allow young people to be involved in decisions about their own lives, own goals, and their next steps they often surprise us".

Ihaka had similar thoughts "Maybe listening is all they need and then they can find answers for themselves. We have to make them stronger to fix up their own troubles,

and I think a lot of kids mature by sorting things out themselves. Yeah, I think resilience will come in when they are able to verbalize the issues for themselves".

Lilly agreed "they need to be given tools to work through their own problems, not be told how to fix it, but given the tools to sort it for themselves".

Hariata reported "They need to be encouraged to be independent, if you do everything for kids they can't survive by themselves".

This was articulated well by one of the ākonga, Tama, who reflected "Lots of other people have helped me but actually I've helped myself. Because I'm in control of my anger now, when people annoy me I tell them to stop. Now I tell other people like me to calm down, calm themselves down".

Hohepa also credited himself "I can walk away when I get angry now, and I can also stay in the classroom and talk about it. I can do that without prompts".

Zion said "You can never lose hope but you have work at it yourself, I have to motivate myself to go to school and I do that by talking to myself".
Ruth gave a relevant example, "I think back to a student we had, Elijah, he really tried to better himself. He was the one that applied himself to that job and made it work, no one else.

Personal Strategies

It was evident in the data that the rangatahi employ self strategies when they are struggling or upset. They all mentioned something they were good at and something they liked.

Tama said "running helps when I'm mad because I'm good at it, I like it. I also do swimming I'm really good at that and it calms me".

Zion also mentioned swimming, and technology "I listen to music to calm down, but it also helps me forget about the bad things. The thing that really helps me when things are bad is playing the Xbox. I am really good at Xbox and it's like another world". He also said "I love jumping on the trampoline and just listening to the birds go past and the wind is good for me".

Matt spoke of many strategies he has "When I don't feel great I listen to music I like to calm myself down. I also laugh and use humour when things are tough because I am quite funny". He mentioned the value of karate "I'm good at karate and it's hard. If I didn't take karate lessons I would be a complete egg and now I know how to use my anger better and just defend. It feels really good knowing I can do something like that".

Hohepa said "Playing with animals helps me, I'm really good with animals. and I like to go down to the river as well as I'm sort of more connected there".

The only other notable point that did not fit under the above subcategories was religion, which was mentioned by one staff member and one student. Ruth said "...their beliefs can help them. Like clergy and belonging to a church. There is something about believing in a higher power that helps". Zion said "I believe in Jesus, and that helps me when I'm down. I like going to church and youth group".

Protective Factor 4: Significant Adult

Each kaimahi mentioned the need for a significant adult, or a role model, and discussed the benefits of this for the rangatahi building resilience. To understand the

role of mentors kaimahi were asked: 'Who helps these kids?'. Each of the rangatahi mentioned a mentor that they have.

<u>Mentors</u>

Ruth believed that mentors are playing a huge role in what she saw as increased Māori success, "building a relationship is super important even if it's one person that takes them under their wing and cares for them it covers a multitude really". She expanded on this thought, "someone who believes and then and helps them and lets them know they're not a failure and that they can do it".

Sam agreed and commented that "young people need to find a role model in their hometown, as they need to have people to talk to so that tough aspects of their life don't get them down".

The value of time in the process of relationship building was highlighted by Lilly, "You have to spend time with the student give them time to talk about how they feel. Ākonga will only engage if they trust people, if they have built rapport with them. I think at the end of the day having one person will help them stay strong".

The need for one significant person was also acknowledged by Heni "they need family workers, and mentors; someone they can connect to, someone they see as a positive role model who they trust. The kids who are struggling need to seek help and find someone, even one person they trust whether they be from school or the family or maybe someone they meet outside in the community".

<u>Relatable Mentors</u>

It was noted that many of the interviewees expanded on the role of a mentor, going on to mention the benefits of the significant adult having similar lived experiences to the individual.

The need for a mentor who has had struggles similar to the tamaiti was important, as Rihipeta explained, "it helps when they talk to someone close to them, you know role models that are out there that have had struggles and come out the other end just like these guys".

Ihaka also believed that have someone who was brought up in a similar way or identifies similar to the rangatahi was valuable. He said "If you live in the country and talk to someone else from the country you will see similarities between their whānau and yours. Then alright he knows what I'm talking about so you sort of open up". He also said "the similarities build the bridge, the relationship, so once you get that you're more in tune with him, if they need to find someone they can talk to, they know that person will listen to them".

Lilly considered the value of mentors who are similar to the rangatahi too, "they need mentors who are young, they need to find one person who is like them that is an inspiration that they can look up to".

Tama mentioned past and current teachers as adults he trusts "I trust Jackie she's my teacher at the moment, and one of my old teachers is still my mentor I see her every week". He also identified his dad and step-mum as people he liked talking to. He then spoke of a mentor, and a therapist "Matiu was good he taught me boxing and told me not to smash things and helped with my anger. Oh and I liked working with my therapist Karen sometimes when I see her it helps me settle down".

Similarly, Hohepa articulated that there was only one teacher he liked at his old school, she now provides respite care to him. He said that he trusts her because she is kind and more caring than the other teachers were; "now I see her at least once a week and stay with her and her family and we talk and stuff". Hohepa said that he can talk to his whānau and that they help. He mentioned his grandparents on multiple occasions as people who are important to him and people he trusts, as well as his auntie. He made reference to Joella, a child psychologist that he sees regularly. He reported enjoying these sessions even though "they have been hard at times".

Matt only identified two whānau members as adults he trusts "It makes me feel better when I talk about things that are difficult like to my mum, I might have dropped out of school like my brother if it wasn't for my mum. Oh and I love my koro (grandfather) I always talk to him he's always there for me when things are shit I tell someone mum and koro cause I trust them".

Zion had careful consideration of the question before responding "Cathy, well she was my mentor and a really good help to me. She still is around now and I like her motivation to do things like especially when I don't seem interested and she's really nice".

Māori Mentors

Further analysis of the data showed that all but one staff member spoke about the benefit of the role model being of Māori descent.

Ihaka made a powerful statement in regards to this, "In my opinion you have to have somebody Māori or somebody with a lot of Māori knowledge doing the work with the

kids who are Māori. You can't understand how Māori work by reading it in a book or studying it you've got to be Māori to identify how Māori can feel".

Hariata admitted that she interacted differently with rangatahi Māori; "When I approach the Māori ākonga I nurture differently because that's how we, as Māori, need to be with other Māori. We talk to them in a different language that the Pākehā don't understand. I don't mean te reo, not an actual language but a different approach".

Heni said she struggled to find common ground with Pākehā ākonga "It helps if they are Māori because you can get a faster connection. Māori tend to speak more freely to their own, it doesn't always happen but they're more comfortable with their own and they tend to open up more". She also made a comment about connecting to the family of the rangatahi Māori, "I have found it is easier to connect with the whānau if you've got the same colour face for some reason".

Ihaka also believed his practise changed, "The way I interact is different because I'm a Māori so sometimes the Pākehā kids won't understand like the Māori kids do. We interact differently have a little joke around and they understand my jokes. It's Māori humour we can't have the humour the way that we do with our Māori kids with the other kids".

Sam also mentioned that he used more humour when working with the rangatahi Māori. He also said "Māori kids need to have Māori mentors because they can relate to the child and can understand where they have come from. It's a huge help when the mentor is Māori".

Lilly had a similar view "Māori adults helping Māori ākonga is best because they understand and have been there for themselves. It's somebody that has had the

upbringing that some of them have had, or facing the same struggles and have overcome then and are now achieving. I will always seek outside agencies that are run by Māori, for Māori and about Māori. I'm more likely to employ a therapist for a Pākehā student and a mentor for a Māori student. Culture can't be done on pieces of paper or learnt in a course, you need to hang out with Māori people at the marae, and live like Māori to understand".

The need for Māori role models was also appreciated by Rihipeta, articulating her personal view that every individual tamaiti needs both male and female kaimahi around "so the men can teach them in how to be men but the wāhine also have a roll like nurturing and balancing out those men, there's a balance to everything you've got to have both".

When asked about significant adults that he trusts, Tama specifically expressed "I also remember the matua from my old school, I trust him because he is Māori like me".

Protective Factor 5: Extended Whānau

The concept of family including people outside of the nuclear whānau proved significant in the data analysis.

When asked if there is difference in how Māori react in tough times Lilly said "It's that extended whānau thing. For Pākehā in general it is the immediate parents and the siblings who are their family, so you are brought up by your mum and dad with your siblings. In the Māori community you are brought up by your community, it is community based raising of children. If things aren't going well they can go stay at

Nan's for a few days or if your aunty is having a tough time your cousins might live with you for awhile".

Hariata said "Family within a Māori whānau it means everybody, it's the community, it's not just your first whānau it's your parents, your aunties, and it's everybody. Everybody has an important role to bring up the children. It's everybody's job to make sure our babies are being brought up right".

Ruth believed Māori are fortunate "Māori, they have lots of whānau connections outside of the immediate family. They are lucky like that when things aren't going well".

When questioned what helps young Māori, Ihaka said "When it's tough or you are in trouble you look at your whānau. Even if mum and dad are annoyed you don't stand alone because you have uncles and aunties and grandma or koro who still love you... your whānau doesn't just stop with your mum, it just goes to the bigger whānau you always have support, you're always a part of the hapū or iwi so you don't get lost".

One of the ākonga verified this view; Tama reflected "When my parents get angry at me I go to stay with my aunty and cousins or my dad's mum. It's like if I have been naughty at school I go there and they are nice to me even though my parents are really mad".

Zion mentioned "All of my whānau support me. My mum and my niece and my big cousins help me. My niece lives with me and I really like hanging out with her...even though she's little I learn from her".

Rihipeta reinforced the collective view of the staff around Māori accessing extended whānau. She said "we look for support within our own whānau and then extended whānau. Extended whānau would be aunty, uncle, grandparents, cousins, I would even say close friends. You don't have to be blood related. She explained the benefits

of this system "Kids do better when they have whānau and extended whānau to help guide them in life, The more people the better".

Many of the kaimahi Māori had their own examples of extended whānau in action. Sam said "Māori people usually have more whānau. My mum is one of 18 kids so I have heaps of cousins and aunties and uncles and yeah that means more people to support me".

Heni spoke of growing up in the same home as her cousins "It was normal to us. We would spend holidays at different aunties houses. In the Māori world wider whānau can and do help with the kids, in te ao Māori extend whānau is everything".

Ihaka described his own situation "Sometimes Nan and Koro look after the kids, sometimes something's happened and the parents can't look after the kids. I have my own moko at the moment cause my girl can't have her right now".

Rihipeta also spoke of personal experience, "Recently I have been intervening with my brother's children so that they don't get uplifted from the home by the government...the value of connection within whānau is important to us".

Hariata highlighted "A lot of the kids I have worked with are living with their grandparents which is a good thing because the child stays in a te ao Māori environment not going through the system to a Pākehā family".

The data showed that this was a reality for some of the ākonga interviewed. Hohepa mentioned that he doesn't live with his parents "I'm not allowed to stay with my mum and dad. I lived with aunty for a while instead of going to a family group home which was much better. Now I've been with Nan and Grandad for years and it just seems normal to me".

Matt mentioned "Koro has always been there, and sometimes I've lived with him. Because I'm the oldest I'm Koro's boy, but all of my whānau help me like not just my mum and dad".

Ihaka reflected as to why this happens in te ao Māori "I have often wondered why Pākehā whānau aren't usually like us with extended whānau. Māori like being in groups not by themselves, I think it's in our DNA from living in tribes". He commented "You can stand tall on your own but you owe that to you tīpuna, who support you through your whānau, they got you to where you are".

Chapter Five: Discussion of Findings

Introduction

This case study highlights the need for whānau, educators, and other professionals to recognize that while many factors that contribute to Māori resilience are similar for Pākehā, some of them differ. In this chapter, the findings will be discussed in terms of the three main research questions as highlighted in chapter three.

    iv.   What are the common risk factors young Māori exposed to?

    v.   What are the common protective factors young Māori are utilising?

    vi.   Are there differences between Western models of resilience and resilience as described by young Māori?

This chapter is a summary of the findings of the previous chapter, in accordance with these research questions. The research identified multiple risk and protective factors evident in the lives of young Māori who have spent time at a Residential Special School in Aotearoa New Zealand. Risk factors and protective factors are discussed, followed by limitations of the study, recommendations for further research, and concluding comments.

Summary

Home Environment

The study showed that many of the risk factors identified through the data analysis were similar for Māori as they are for Pākehā. This was especially true for the risk

factors listed under the home environment category, namely drugs and alcohol, poverty, abuse, gangs, and family disconnect as the subcategories. This is consistent with Western literature which highlights parenting style, family discord, poverty, violence and abuse as common risk factors (Rak & Patterson, 1996; Bagshaw, 2007).

All staff members spoke of drugs and alcohol in the homes of the rangatahi Māori. Aboriginal peoples throughout history have resorted to drugs and alcohol to relieve the trauma inflicted by colonisation, and the effects of this can also mean "that these individuals become dysfunctional parents and foster abusive family environments (Tousignant & Sioui, 2009, p. 45). The research of Young et al. (2017) identified that drug and alcohol free environments lead to higher rates of resilience in older children.

Poverty was mentioned by many of the staff members, with specific mention to the widespread effects of it. The data highlighted that poverty can lead to many necessities of life being affected, from having food to eat, to lacking the funds to visit a doctor. Interestingly some of the data believe that poverty can contribute to resilience, as rangatahi are used to dealing with adversity. It was raised that poverty can lead to judgement from the peers of these rangatahi.

Abuse as a risk factor emerged consistently in the analysis, with multiple staff mentioning that the rangatahi were often surprised when they misbehaved and were not punished physically. The staff believed that abuse is a learnt behaviour and is cyclic in nature. The ākonga all mentioned abuse in their homes, ranging from domestic to sexual; many of the kaimahi believed that the abusive behaviours exhibited by the rangatahi could be directly associated to what they had witnessed in the home.

The rangatahi being exposed or affiliated with gangs was attributed to gang members being present in their own family, whether new members or generationally affiliated. The appeal of the gang mindset was evident, participants felt gangs can offer rangatahi nurturing that is lacking in their own homes.

The theme of having no parents or only one parent in the family home was mentioned by many of the staff who felt that it disadvantaged the rangatahi. Step parents were mentioned but not in a positive way. It was found that where there was family disconnect, there was often involvement of Oranga Tamariki. Two of the ākonga, for whom this was a reality, reported horrendous experiences while within this system.

Perceived Status

Perceived status was one theme that strongly emerged in the analysis as a risk factor. This case was based on young Māori who were ākonga at a residential college. The criteria for being a student at the college meant that all of the ākonga who were, and all of the past ākonga who the interviewed staff spoke about, presented with an intellectual disability. Two subcategories were presented in this theme, perception of disability and perception of ethnicity. The former seems to be a risk factor that is prevalent among many young people who are diagnosed with disabilities, both Māori and Pākehā.

Perception of ethnicity, is a risk factor that young Māori do have to deal with compared to their Pākehā counterparts. All of the staff who were interviewed highlighted the struggles faced by young Māori due to their ethnicities. Many of the kaimahi gave personal examples of the affect growing up as a young Māori person had on others'

perception of them. Racism was highlighted as an element of this which manifested in the form of being treated differently in public and in the education system, as well as more direct racism. One participant spoke of being able to avoid some racism due to being fair skinned and having an English last name. The data suggested that there are strong influences within society that make rangatahi Māori believe that they cannot achieve as much as their Pākehā counterparts, which affects their perception of self and ethnicity. As many rangatahi Māori may have had poor experiences due to their ethnicity, it becomes even more vital that they have positive identity Māori. "Children who had a clear, strong and positive concept of themselves as an Aboriginal person living in a predominantly White culture were more resilient to experiences of discrimination and negative stereotyping" (Young et al., 2017).

Equity of Access to Health and Wellbeing Services

The ability to access health and wellbeing services was another risk factor that was identified as the participants as only being an issue for Māori. A number of the staff believed that this was due to the lack of trust Māori have in the government due to historical events such as land confiscation. Aboriginal peoples often do not trust other people and institutions (Tousignant & Sioui, 2009). Some of the staff believed that whānau simply do not know about the services that are available due to ineffective advertising. Incorporating Māori Health models was acknowledged as essential by a number of the participants.

Lack of Cultural Connection

Lack of cultural connection was easily the most identified and detailed risk factor provided by the participants. The lack of cultural identity was the most risky element of this, it was found that one of the disadvantages of being out of touch with one's culture is that rangatahi look to fill that void with other culture. Andersson (2010) highlights that youth who are involved in traditional activities, are three times less likely to be smokers. Many of the kaimahi spoke of the affect urbanisation can have on how connected one is to their culture. It is difficult for Indigenous people to define their culture when they have migrated to cities, and are presented with the challenge of culturally identify in urban settings (Tousignant & Sioui, 2009). It is important on a spiritual level to be close to the tūrangawaewae. Shield (2004) highlights having to both define and maintain identity as a challenge of Indigenous peoples in political, economic, social, and cultural realities.

Connection to Culture

As lack of connection to culture was the most prevalent risk factor identified in the data analysis, cultural connection was understandably the most significant factor of resilience. "Children who were more aware of their Aboriginal heritage and cultural practices were more likely to be resilient...connection to Aboriginal culture was believed to foster a sense of belonging and pride in their ancestry during challenging times" (Young et al., 2017, p. 407). Identity, knowledge of whakapapa, exposure to tikanga Māori and kaupapa Māori, te reo Māori, and spirituality were the sub categories identified in the data analysis.

Having a sense of cultural identity is vital to rangatahi Māori who are exposed to risk, as it becomes the most important protective factor. Cultural pride and instilling cultural identity, is vital to building resilience (Young et al., 2017); "If someone cannot feel proud of the cultural group to which he or she belongs (collective identity), he or she will hardly be able to maintain a positive evaluation of him or herself (personal identity)." (p. 45). It was valuable to hear of the experiences of the kaimahi, as well as hearing that they believed there were positive changes in the rangatahi Māori when they became more in touch with their cultural identity.

The data strongly suggested that whakapapa and knowledge of this is highly influential to young people. The kaimahi believed this develops of a sense of belonging and highlights a positive aspect of their culture. Knowledge of whakapapa can allow one to connect with other Māori, which can often mean extending the support base that one has. This is exemplified in the study of McGuire (2010) who claims that Indigenous knowledge informs who one is and how they relate to the world "Knowing who I am and where I came from gives me a solid foundation in my life" (p. 119).

Wexler (2013) suggests that individuals derive meaning and draw strength from their culture and that culture fosters strength. The value of the exposure to tikanga Māori and kaupapa Māori was acknowledged heavily in the research. Values such as manaakitanga, aroha and whakawhanaungatanga were named directly. Many cultural practices that can contribute to resilience in the young people were considered, such as pūrākau, whakataukī, waiata, karakia, and traditional food knowledge. Young et al. (2017) discovered that children who were knew more about their aboriginal heritage, and were more accustomed to cultural practices, were more likely to be resilient.

Māori language emerged as being central to cultural connection. Staff felt that it helped the most with identity especially for the rangatahi that visibly looked like they were of Māori descent. All of the ākonga who were interviewed clearly identified that they liked learning te reo Māori.

While spirituality was not mentioned frequently by the participants, it is a prominent concept in te ao Māori. Shield (2004) recognises the role of spirituality in Indigenous self-identity; "it goes beyond skin color, physical features, cultural activities practices and cultural events attended. It exists within a spiritual reality, Indigenous value systems and sense of being" (p. 115). One rangatahi expressed that he could self-regulate well when he was at the river or outside with nature.

Residential Education Setting

It was visible in the analysis that the residential setting contributed to the building of protective factors. The staff were very professional in their practice, keeping in contact with the families of the ākonga, making referrals where necessary, and building healthy genuine relationships with the rangatahi Māori. The environment seemed to be advantageous as it mirrored a healthy family environment. Ākonga are recognised as individuals and assisted with meeting their intellectual and behavioural needs in both incidental and purposeful ways. The structure and routine of the residential setting is effective for the rangatahi.

The biggest strength of the residential setting was that it was kaupapa Māori orientated. It is vital that educational institutions give Indigenous ākonga the opportunities to both develop and sustain their identities and relationship with traditional values behaviours and realities (Shield, 2004). Staff spoke of wanting the

ākonga to succeed in both Māori and Pākehā worlds, and many parts of the programme that reflected aspects of te ao Māori were acknowledged. Young et al. (2017) believe that community programmes where cultural knowledge is learned promote resilience.

Notions of Self

The benefits of using positive encouraging words, and focusing on the strengths of the ākonga were evident. The research of Edward et al. (2009) strongly suggests that resilience is concerned with a strong sense of self, feelings of hope and faith, and having insight into one's own personal life situations. Rak and Patterson (1996) acknowledge the need to identify strengths in young people, and build on such strengths. External methods of improving notions of self were acknowledged as well as intrinsic factors. Some rangatahi believe in themselves more than others, are actively involved in decisions about their lives, and make efforts to solve their own problems. Young et al. (2017) made reference to a theme of resilience they called 'inner strength'. They highlighted that while some people felt this was innate, others believed it could be fostered through cultural knowledge and self-belief. All of the ākonga identified that they like to do things that they are good at or things that they like when they feel upset. Employing self strategies such as these is resilience in action. Shield (2004) links the future cultural and educational survival and wellbeing of Indigenous peoples to self-knowledge, self-actualisation, and self-worth.

Significant Adult

The findings, as identified in the previous chapter, confirm the importance of the role of a significant adult. There is a large body of research that supports this notion. Role models outside of the nuclear whānau can be protective factors for vulnerable children; these role models can include teachers, counsellors, coaches, and other community workers (Rak & Patterson, 1996). The study of Bernard (1997, as cited in Edward et al., 2009) found that "mentors have the power to transform lives through education and support" (p. 588). The students all mentioned a significant adult in their life; it is encouraging that the staff also mentioned the value that a significant adult can have for a young person. The type of mentor was frequently made reference to, the data suggests that young people need somebody that they can relate to, and that mentors of the same ethnic groups are more effective.

Extended Whānau

The advantage of having family outside of the nuclear whānau was evident in the results of this study. The concept of family in te ao Māori is diverse, whānau collectives extend beyond households (Kennedy & Cram, 2010). Tousignant and Sioui (2009) also acknowledge the significance of extended whānau in Aboriginal communities; "the community is formed of nuclear and extended families and the family is at the core of a person's identity" (p. 50). Participants felt that having many family members around you is valuable as there are more people contributing to the upbringing of the child, more people to support the parents, and more people for the rangatahi to turn

to when things are tough. In crisis, Māori draw on traditional bodies such as whānau, marae, hapū and iwi (Lambert et al., 2014).

Limitations

Due to the nature of the interview questions, and the volatile nature of the rangatahi at hand, having prior relationships with both the kaimahi and the rangatahi was vital. This, however, meant that the power imbalance could not be assured, nor the absence of researcher bias. The benefits of the researcher knowing the participants are thought to have outweighed the risks in this situation.

The residential school setting was accessed due to the nature of the participants who were currently, and who had been ākonga there. Past and present ākonga of the school have arguably been exposed to more risk than those in mainstream schools due to the enrolment criteria. While it can be concluded that the findings of the study could be applicable to tamariki Māori in mainstream schools, generalisation is not intended. Similarly, it is appreciated that not all Māori are not the same, and the individuals interviewed represented many different iwi, hapū, and communities.

Four rangatahi Māori and seven kaimahi who were staff in the residential accommodation were interviewed in this study. There were other rangatahi Māori who were asked and who consented to participating in the research, however, the fragile and unpredictable nature of their behaviours meant that this was not always possible. Some of these participants were female, and it is recognised that getting the voice of female rangatahi Māori would have strengthened the research. While there was a balance of male and female kaimahi participants, in a study of a larger scale it would

have been beneficial to hear from the staff who work with the ākonga in the curriculum area of the school, as well as the residences. This would have given a more holistic perspective of the rangatahi and resilience factors.

In Māori research, it is important that whānau are given a voice. Unfortunately, this proved very difficult to do in this study due to the geographical location of the whānau of the participants. Phone interviews were considered, however, the disconnect and discord within whānau meant that it was going to be too difficult to collect data. Ideally, data from whānau would have been collected to give them a voice and strengthen data triangulation.

Recommendations

It is important to consider the findings of this piece of research, so that it can inform those working with rangatahi Māori and their whānau. While some of the recommendations below are by no means ground-breaking, they reinforce previous research that encourages the minimisation of risk factors and the strengthening of protective factors. The stories of the rangatahi Māori and their staff were unique and have provided clear future direction.

The high number of risk factors that were present in the home environment indicate that intervention is required. This would ideally be in the form of strengthening whānau to find their own solutions. As highlighted in the data, whānau need to be empowered to break cycles and given support to make positive choices, rather than choices being made for them.

The perceptions of ethnicity and disabilities within homes, schools, communities and Aotearoa New Zealand society need to continue to be challenged. This will allow the strengths of rangatahi Māori to be recognised instead of judgement of abilities and ethnic grouping continuing to occur.

The barriers to Māori accessing health and wellbeing services need to be identified and actively eroded. While this is something that many agencies have been attempting to address for a long time, this research indicates it is yet to be effective for all consumers. There are historical issues that need to be reviewed, as they are preventing Māori from trusting health initiatives that are based on Western models of practice.

The data strongly suggests that the factor that can have the most influence on rangatahi Māori is cultural connection; cultural identity is a concept that is central to resilience (Penehira et al., 2014). For some Māori, they are exposed to strong cultural ties within their whānau environment, kōhanga reo (Māori preschool), or kura kaupapa (Māori immersion schooling). These rangatahi will be more likely to flourish in adverse conditions. For most Māori rangatahi, however, they will not be exposed to the positive elements of Māori culture in these avenues. This suggests that these rangatahi Māori need other places where they can connect with their culture. Mainstream schools could be resourced to provide effective programmes to connect these rangatahi with genuine cultural experiences. Other community programmes, such as iwi and hapū lead initiatives, should also continue to attempt to reconnect Māori with their culture.

Cultural identity was the stand out factor of cultural connection. Rangatahi Māori need to know who they are and where they come from, and the knowledge of whakapapa and pepeha strengthens this. There are currently some iwi lead initiatives that connect

individuals with their pepeha information, but how to effectively connect rangatahi Māori with these agencies needs to be considered.

The role of residential schools in improving protective factors was clearly evident in this research. Perhaps this type of educational setting needs to be accessible to more ākonga, or the positive practises coming out of them mirrored in mainstream schools.

Having more community programs that provide mentors and people outside the nuclear whānau would be beneficial for building resilience in all rangatahi. It seems there is a need for more male, Māori mentors in the sector.

While these recommendations do not address all that can be actioned to support resilience in rangatahi Māori, they provide a good starting point.

Conclusion

Many would think that children who are exposed to risk are guaranteed to have negative outcomes, but this does not have to be the case where significant protective factors are present. These protective factors for rangatahi Māori can include but are not limited to connection to culture, attendance of a residential education setting, improving notions of self, the presence of a significant adult, and extended whānau. Having knowledge of what contributes to the resilience of rangatahi Māori is fundamental to the strategic enhancement of wellbeing.

On comparing the results of this study with the models of resilience and literature previously summarised in Chapter Two, it is clear that these models can not be effectively applied to Indigenous settings. For example, Ginsburg (2006) fails to

mention culture, in his model 'the 7 Crucial Cs'. This study very clearly outlines that culture is a 'crucial C' for Indigenous people.

In addition to this finding, there are elements such as extended whānau that further demonstrate why contextually appropriate models of resilience are necessary. Western resilience frequently mentions parental assistance, not the family as a whole. For Māori, whānau collectives are diverse and often extend beyond a household. There is huge significance to the collective in te ao Māori, whereas Western models of resilience focus on the individual. When looking at Māori values it is easily concluded that a resilience framework should consider wider whānau, iwi and hapū, as well as other contemporary Māori groups such as kapa haka.

While recommendations for how to use these findings for Māori have been outlined, one must consider how they can also be applied to Pākehā. Bishop (n.d.) claims "what is good for everyone is not always good for Māori; but what is good for Māori is good for everyone". This suggests Pākehā may also benefit from having more purposeful teachings around their cultures.

Given the adversity of Aboriginal communities around the world, including Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand, comprehension of what helps Aboriginal children do well is vital. Research of this nature can provide a basis for initiatives that endeavour to promote resilience while simultaneously reducing negative outcomes. Indigenous people are resilient in nature; despite the effects of colonisation such as language loss, we see Aboriginal peoples, their identities, languages and cultures still alive today. On reviewing the literature, collecting the data, and analysing the data, it is clear that the concept of Māori resilience is relevant, and can contribute to the endeavour of improving the wellbeing of the tāngata whenua of Aotearora New Zealand.

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